Arms Control & Disarmament

A QUARTERLY
BIBLIOGRAPHY
WITH ABSTRACTS
AND ANNOTATIONS

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 4

FALL 1970

XUM

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1970

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Prepared by the
ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT BIBLIOGRAPHY SECTION
GENERAL REFERENCE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY DIVISION · REFERENCE DEPARTMENT
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PREFACE

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I. THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

BASIC FACTORS IN WORLD POLITICS

1410
Anders, Michel, comp. [WAR PROVED USELESS; AN ANTHOLOGY. WHAT CAN MAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL DO FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE?] Der unbrauchbar gewordene Krieg; Anthologie. Was kann der Mensch als Individuum für die Erhaltung des Friedens tun? Ravensburg/Württ., Verlag Ravensburger Druckanstalt [1967] 163 p. JX1952.A697

A collection of responses by outstanding personalities of various countries and political beliefs, professions, religions, races, and ages to the question, "What can man as an individual do to obtain peace?" The answers postulate that war as a human condition is, or should be, avoidable and that the personal concern of each man would best serve the cause of peace.

1411
Barnaby, Frank. THE BALANCE OF TERROR. Humanist, v. 85, May 1970: 137-139. illus.
BL2700.H78, v. 85

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1412
Beaufre, André. [THE FUTURE OF EUROPE] Die Zukunft Europas. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 8, Jan./Feb. 1970: 18-22.
U3.O34, v. 8

Suggests three short-term models of Soviet-American relations: complete rapprochement, no rapprochement, and the present status, with concomitant assumptions of the middle-term alternatives of no essential internal change, a change in East Europe only, a cultural crisis in the United States and the West, and a revolutionary crisis in Latin America. The conditions for such purely European solutions to the problem of security as a strengthened NATO or a united Europe are outlined. An all-Europe security organization is possible only after complete Soviet-American understanding; the integration of Western and Eastern Europe without the participation of the U.S.S.R. is possible only if the United States is preoccupied by Latin American crises. Beaufre sketches the military and political reforms that he thinks are necessary to attain the strong NATO and united West desirable to complete the "pacification of Europe."

1413
Black, Cyril E. GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES. World politics, v. 22, July 1970: 582-596.
D839.W57, v. 22

Evaluates the pattern of support of research in international studies by Federal agencies with a view to identifying critical issues in research policy that deserve further study. The restriction of the role of the Department of Defense as a major sponsor is related to growing concern over the administration of Federal support for social science research in general and for international studies in particular. Government-sponsored research completed and in progress in fiscal 1968 and 1969 are analyzed in terms of sponsors, contractors, subject matter, and the extent to which the research is basic or applied. Black suggests the utility of a concerted effort to define objectives and to relate the allocation of resources to such objectives, since grants are most often made in response to strong proposals.

1414
Bowling, John W. HOW WE DO OUR THING: CRISIS MANAGEMENT. Foreign service journal, v. 47, May 1970: 19-21, 48. JX1.A53, v. 47

Compares crisis management and the judge-advocate system in the operation of foreign policy. Bowling notes that decisionmaking in crisis management is almost completely divorced from the standard judge-advocate system.

1415
Buchan, Alastair. [SIX MODELS FOR THE WESTERN EUROPE OF THE 1970'S; EUROPE'S FUTURE, EUROPE'S ALTERNATIVES] Sechs Modelle für das Westeuropa der

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siebziger Jahre; Europas Zukunft, Europas Alternativen. Unter Mitarbeit von Christoph Bertram, Peter Ramsbotham, und Walther Stützle. Mit einer Einführing von Kurt Birrenbach. Opladen, C. W. Leske, 1969. 166 p. (Aktuelle Aussenpolitik)
D1058.B8

Bibliographical references included in "Anmerkungen" (p. 161-166).

Contents.--Politics and models, by Kurt Birrenbach.--Preface, by Alastair Buchan.--Introduction: constants and variables of the development of Europe.--Model I: evolutionary Europe.--Model II: Atlanticized Europe.--Model III: Europe of the fatherlands.--Model IV: disintegrated Europe.--Model V: partnership of Europe.--Model VI: independent European federation.--Conclusion: the Europe of limited possibilities.

To indicate the alternatives confronting the statesmen of the immediate future, proposes six working hypotheses on the future structure of Europe and examines their possible effects on European problems, including East-West tension. Buchan considers general socioeconomic questions as well as security. Half of the models posit the complete economic integration and subsequent political integration of Western Europe, and most assume Great Britain's entry into the Common Market and the continuance of the NATO alliance. However, significant reductions of the American forces in Europe are expected. The models all agree that bridgebuilding between East and West will continue, but none anticipates the unification of Germany.

1416
[THE CRISIS OVER THE ADMISSION OF GREAT BRITAIN] Die Krise um den Beitritt Englands. Redaktion dieses Bandes: Erich Kitzmüller. Unter Mitarbeit von H. Kuby [et al.] Mit einer Alternative von Rolf Schroers. Düsseldorf, Econ Verlag [1969] 178 p. (Europäische Optionen, 1)
HC241.25.G7K7

Contents.--Introduction: false fronts.--In search of a crisis strategy for an enlargement of the Community.--The Community crisis.--Security and foreign policy requirements for European states.--Balance sheet of interests and appraisals of interests.--An alternative, by Rolf Schroers.--Appendix: The effects of British admission for particular policies of the Community.

Expounds the idea of a foreign policy community of West European states. Changes in European foreign and security policies can contribute to the establishment of a foreign policy community of West European states. However, this is hindered by the failure of West European governments, who support expansion of the European Economic Community, to come to terms with France's European policy. France must realize that it is unable to establish and guarantee a central European security order, which is essential for East-West accommodation in Europe.

1417
Denis, Jacques, and Jean Kanapa. [FOR OR AGAINST EUROPE?] Pour ou contre l'Europe? Paris, Éditions sociales, 1969. 224 p. (Notre temps)
D1058.D4

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--pt. 1. The facts: The first steps. The roots of "integration." The "Schuman Plan" and the ECSC. The birth of the Common Market. Promises and realities. An obstacle to international cooperation. Europe and the United States. The Atlantic Pact (I). The Atlantic Pact (II). First balance sheet.--pt. 2. Propositions: Europe as it is today. Toward giving the European idea a new economic and social content. Prospects for European cooperation. The keystone of any European organization; a collective security system. German problems. Supranationality, a dangerous myth. The working class and Europe.

Discusses the prospects for a European security system by exposing the problems involved and presenting the Communist point of view. The authors argue that only the working class can bring about European unification.

1418
Deutsch, Karl W., and Richard L. Merritt. NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT; AN INTERDISCIPLINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press [1970] 519 p. Z7164.N2D43

"A tool for gathering descriptive materials on nationalism in the form of comparative studies, as well as of historical studies and of the analysis of particular cases" and a "tentative survey of tools and methods for such research that seems to us possible and worth doing in the future, together with items containing collections or analyses of relevant quantitative data." About 5,000 titles are included from many disciplines, covering the years 1935 to 1966.

1419
[DEVELOPMENT TENDENCIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS] Entwicklungstendenzen der internationalen Politik. Unter der Redaktion von Gerhard Hahn [et al.] Berlin, Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1969. 310 p.
JX1395.E55

Issued by the Institut für Internationale Beziehungen an der Deutschen Akademie für Staats- und Rechtswissenschaft "Walter Ulbricht," Potsdam-Babelsberg.

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--The state and perspectives on the global dispute between socialism and imperialism. --Soviet foreign policy and the worldwide revolutionary process, by Siegmar Quilitzsch.--On the development of cooperation between the Socialist states of Europe, by Helmut Busch and Walter Müller.--The Socialist community and European security, by Werner Hänisch.--The German Democratic Republic's struggle for disarmament.--Forcing the global strategy; an expression of the crisis of

U.S. imperialism, by Klaus Bollinger and Hans Maretzki.--NATO in imperialist politics, by Jochen Dankert.--West Germany's effort toward hegemony in capitalist Europe, by Wilhelm Ersil.--The sharpening of Bonn's policy of aggression against the German Democratic Republic and the realities, by Herbert Kröger.--Present tendencies of Afro-Asian states and their influence on the change in international power relations, by Günther Thole and Renate Wünsche.--On some development tendencies in the UNO system, by Gerhard Hahn.--Subject index.

Details the global struggle between Socialist states and revolutionary forces on one side, and NATO, capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, and American and West German aggressive tendencies on the other, and urges admission of the German Federal Republic to the United Nations.

1420

[THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM AND THE RISE OF A NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT] Der Zerfall des Kolonialsystems und der Aufschwung der nationalen Befreiungsbewegung. Kleines Nachschlagewerk. [Herausgeber: Deutsches Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Berlin. Von einem Autorenkollektiv unter Leitung von Gertraud Liebscher erarb.] Berlin, Dietz, 1967. 312 p. illus. (Internationale Reihe)

D843.Z4

Bibliographical footnotes: p. 277-281.
Bibliography: p. 282-293.

Contents.--Preliminary remark.--The colonial system; a component of an imperialist system.--The crisis and collapse of the imperialist colonial system.--Development tendencies of Asian, African, and Latin American states after the complete collapse of the imperialist colonial system.--The policy of neocolonialism.--The Socialist world system, the main support of young national states.--Index of persons and subjects.

Contends that the colonial system has progressively disintegrated as the world Socialist system has increased its military strength and economic successes over capitalism; that neocolonialism represents a dying imperialist colonial policy; and that American foreign, economic, and military policies, including NATO and the Organization of American States, stand for neocolonialism. As a reaction to neocolonialism the worldwide national liberation movement contributes to the struggle against imperialism and, indirectly, to the final victory of socialism. Its main support comes from the Socialist camp.

1421

Far Eastern economic review. YEARBOOK, 1970. [Hongkong, 1969] 304 p. illus.

HC411.F19, 1970

Contents.--Foreword, by Derek Davies.--The region.--Far Eastern round-up.--Food and population.--Regional co-operation.--Trade and aid.--Banking and finance.--Regional survey.

Contains a chronology of major Asian events from December 1968 through November 1969. Major international trends, the progress achieved by various regional organizations, and the Asian reaction to the Soviet Union's proposed Asian security pact are examined. The main part of the yearbook consists of 27 country reports that analyze political, international, economic, and social developments and summarize prospects for 26 Asian and Australasian nations. In the view of the editors, Asians assume that the United States will withdraw militarily from Vietnam even if the war continues and will carefully circumscribe its other Asian military commitments. While China and the Soviet Union approached the threshold of war, Peking attempted to normalize its internal situation and foreign relations. "Large shifts in the balance of power caused most countries in the region to reappraise the situation and brought a new flexibility to their international postures."

1422

Fontaine, André. THE LEGACY OF THE SIXTIES. Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 8, spring 1970: 31-35.

D839.A85, v. 8

The world situation today is little different from what it was in 1960. The cold war is over, but the East-West division remains; decolonization approaches completion, but the gap between rich and poor nations grows wider. In Europe, General De Gaulle's attempt to bring about a genuine change in the political climate came to grief on the tough East German problem. The recent revolutions in France and Prague, which together signified a rejection of superpower spheres of influence, also failed, largely because had they succeeded, the balance of power between "the Big Two" would have been upset. Present efforts are directed toward making the status quo less risky, not toward changing it, which could have the unwanted effect of consolidating the East-West cleavage, as the nonproliferation treaty, strategic arms limitation talks, West Germany's new Ostpolitik, and proposals for an all-European security conference have done already. The progress of the developing nations is excruciatingly slow; economic problems have been exacerbated by fratricidal bloodlettings between poor countries that have bought arms from the rich or by direct confrontations between rich and poor as in Vietnam. Where is the leadership that promised so much at the beginning of the decade? Initiative has given way everywhere to conservatism. For those who believe in the value of "generosity, boldness, and fresh starts," who know that "societies unable to renew themselves from within rarely last very long," current policy, the essence of which is "to risk nothing, to abandon nothing, and to be wary of everybody," is vastly inadequate.

1423

Frei, Daniel. [DIMENSIONS OF A NEUTRAL POLICY. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] Dimensionen neutraler Politik. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie der internationalen Beziehungen. Genève, [Droz] 1969. 236 p. (Études et travaux

de l'Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales, no. 8)

JX5363.F74 1969

Issued also as a thesis, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, 1966.

Bibliography: p. 209-232.

Contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. Neutral policy as an intermediate position in the constellation of the powers.--pt. 2. The scope of neutral indifference.--pt. 3. Frame of reference of a neutral policy.

Identifies criteria for defining a neutral policy and considers its multiple forms, scopes, and potentialities.

1424

Friedman, Julian R., Christopher Bladen, and Steven Rosen, comps. ALLIANCE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Boston, Allyn and Bacon [1970] 383 p. illus.

JX4005.F74

Includes bibliographies.

Contents.--Foreword.--pt. 1. Introduction: Alliance in international politics, by Julian R. Friedman. The international system; bipolar or multibloc? by Wolfram F. Hanrieder. Bipolarity, multipolarity, and the future, by R. N. Rosecrance. The study of alliances; a review, by George Modelski.--pt. 2. General theory of alliance: Informal analyses; introduction. [1] Alliances, by Hans J. Morgenthau. [2] Diplomatic coalitions and military alliances, by K. J. Holsti. [3] Alignments and realignments, by George Liska. [4] Alliance and integration, by Christopher Bladen. Formal theories; introduction. [1] Formal alliances, 1815-1939, by J. David Singer and Melvin Small. [2] Stochastic models of war alliances, by William J. Horvarth and Caxton C. Foster. [3] An economic theory of alliances, by Mancur Olson, Jr. and Richard Zeckhauser. [4] Some theoretic characteristics of economic and political coalitions, by John G. Cross. [5] A model of war and alliance, by Steven Rosen. [6] Components of an operational theory of international alliance formation, by Bruce M. Russett.--pt. 3. Aspects of alliances: Size of alliances; introduction. [1] The size principle, by William H. Riker. [2] The limits of international coalitions, by Karl W. Deutsch and Morton A. Kaplan. Cohesiveness of alliances; introduction. [1] The integrative functions of conflict, by Robert C. North, Howard E. Koch, Jr., and Dina A. Zinnes. [2] Measuring international alignment, by Henry Teune and Sig Synnestvedt. Neutralism and nonalignment; introduction. [1] Alignment, nonalignment, and small powers, 1945-1965, by Robert L. Rothstein. [2] Neutralists and neutralism, by Samir Anabtwai. Alliances and international law; introduction. [1] The military alliances and the United Nations Charter, by Roy Chowdbury.

A collection of diversified representative readings designed to introduce the student to "a wide range of possible approaches to the topic, and particularly to a consideration of changes in attitudes and strategies." Eighteen of the contributions are reprinted from other sources.

1425

Glenn, Edmund S., and others. A COGNITIVE INTERACTION MODEL TO ANALYZE CULTURE CONFLICT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 14, Mar. 1970: 35-48.

JX1901.J6, v. 14

References: p. 48

The purpose of the article is to distinguish between two types of conflict which may arise between any two entities, including those making up the international system. One of these types is the conflict of interest, amenable to analysis through the game-theoretical model. The other is the conflict of understanding which calls for a different analytical tool. A summary of this tool is presented; it is based on a cognitive interpretation of culture. The model resulting from such an analysis can be reduced to a four-field matrix. Examples of the type of conflict likely to arise between entities fitting in with one or another field of the matrix are given. The concept of a mediating structure is developed. Three such structures are described, and the probable usefulness of each in the present international system is assessed. A finding of particular interest: the process most likely to extinguish the causes of serious conflict once completed is also the most likely to cause conflict in the course of its application. (Abstract supplied)

1426

Goldstein, Joel W. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONFLICT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: A COURSE PLAN AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 14, Mar. 1970: 113-120.

JX1901.J6, v. 14

Bibliography: p. 116-120.

A plan is presented for an undergraduate course designed to consider the application of basic knowledge from the social sciences to social conflict and international relations. The material is divided into three sections: (1) sources and nature of conflict and aggression; (2) the social-psychological dynamics of international relations; and (3) solutions and alternatives to social conflict. Demonstration exercises are described and data are presented from a student evaluation. A 115-item bibliography of references selected as appropriate resource material for upperclassmen is presented and organized according to the course topic plan. Introductory notes and annotations are included to assist students in using the bibliography. (Abstract supplied)

1427

Gupta, Sisir. THE POWER STRUCTURE IN SOUTH ASIA. Round table, the Commonwealth quarterly, no. 238, Apr. 1970: 129-144.

AP4.R6, 1970

The emergence of China as a powerful revolutionary force raises the question whether the relatively weak states of South Asia can be insulated from external intervention while avoiding violent internal change long enough to build a stable po-

litical system. The disintegration of any of these states may radically and abruptly alter their international behavior. The maintenance of national cohesion is one of the most important tasks confronting India, Ceylon, and Pakistan in the next decade. The fundamental requirement for stability in the area is the continued existence of India as an integrated and peaceful state. In many ways, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Nepal belong to the same civilization area and share the same values. While it is unlikely that Ceylon and Nepal will participate in a regional power contest in behalf of India, it can be hoped that they understand the importance for their own security of an India capable of defending itself against China. Pakistan will try to unfreeze the status quo with India by diplomatic maneuvering of the three great powers. All of the states of South Asia are relatively well integrated with the international community and seem likely to continue so. The United States and the Soviet Union have a common interest in preserving peace among the countries of the region. Less predictable is China, which maintains good relationships with the small countries in order to be able to pursue its anti-Indian policies more vigorously.

1428
Haas, Michael. INTERNATIONAL SUBSYSTEMS: STABILITY AND POLARITY. American political science review, v. 64, Mar. 1970: 98-123.
JA1.A6, v. 64

A systematic, comprehensive test of the historical relationship between power distribution and international stability that clarifies and tightens previously employed analytical procedures and methodology. Haas concludes that "supranational integration and national unification . . . are achieved more peacefully and effectively if engineered by single strong core states rather than by rival states or achieved in an egalitarian manner."

1429
Hargreaves, Reginald. THE VITAL FLUID. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, July 1970: 63-69.
Z6723.U35, v. 50

The accessibility and vulnerability of world oil reserves are matters of vital concern to the Western powers. U.S. domestic reserves cause no anxieties either politically or militarily, nor do those in Canada, South America, or the Caribbean. In the Middle East, however, Arab hostility, Soviet influence, and chronic intraregional disputes pose serious threats to Western interests. The Soviet Union is the only major power completely self-sufficient in petroleum and can also draw on East European reserves. Communist China, on the other hand, is plagued with a growing demand that will soon outrun domestic production. The vulnerability of the Sinkiang oil fields to Soviet attack is another source of worry for the Chinese. Worldwide, the demand for petroleum products is rising. Until nuclear power replaces petroleum as the world's primary source of energy for propulsion, the competition for petroleum reserves will be a crucial element in the global power struggle.

1430
Harrigan, Anthony. NATO AND THE FAR NORTH. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 15, Feb./Mar. 1970: 18-19.
UA646.F5, v. 15

Assesses the strategic significance of the recent opening up of the far north in Canada and Alaska to large-scale economic development. This region promises to become a major source of oil and other minerals and has the advantage of being readily accessible to NATO countries. Alliance strategy will have to be revised to protect it from Soviet encroachments.

1431
Hunck, Joseph M. [PANORAMA OF THE ASIAN PERIPHERY] Ein Panorama der asiatischen Peripherie. Aussenpolitik, v. 21, Feb. 1970: 94-103.
D839.A885, v. 21

The prevailing attitude of Asian political leaders is marked by ambivalence: They desire an end to the American presence in Asia but at the same time fear that alone they will not be able to cope with the responsibilities resulting from such a change. The Asians stress the difference between European and Asian communism and consider a nearly extreme nationalism as the only counterpoise to Communist ideologies, which influence individual countries from inside and outside. There is a general hope that all political effort will be channeled into the economic area and the smallest possible energy wasted on military needs. In all these considerations the main focus is on Japan. (Translation of supplied abstract, modified)

1432
Inglehart, Ronald. THE NEW EUROPEANS: INWARD OR OUTWARD-LOOKING? International organization, v. 24, winter 1970: 129-139. illus.
JX1901.I55, v. 24

Smallest-space analysis of attitudes toward European integration, internationalism, authoritarianism, and civism in Great Britain, West Germany, France, and the Netherlands. Inglehart concludes that civism and authoritarianism have only a limited bearing on the question of nationalism versus internationalism but that attitudes toward European integration and internationalism are closely related.

1433
Kaplan, Morton A., comp. GREAT ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS; THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AND NATIONAL POLICY. Chicago, Aldine Pub. Co. [1970] 432 p. illus. D843.K337

Contents.--Preface.--pt. 1. Great issues in international order: Introduction. International law and the international system, by Morton A. Kaplan. The Beirut raid and the international law of retaliation, by Richard A. Falk. Sisyphus and the avalanche; the United Nations, Egypt, and Hun-

gary, by Stanley Hoffmann. Obstinate or obsolete? The fate of the nation-state and the case of Western Europe, by Stanley Hoffmann. NATO in the international system of the 1970's, by Morton A. Kaplan. Preventing nuclear proliferation through the legal control of China's bomb, by Seymour C. Yuter. The nuclear non-proliferation treaty: its rationale, prospects, and possible impact on international law, by Morton A. Kaplan.--pt. 2. Great issues in foreign policy: Introduction. Changes in United States perspectives on the Soviet Union and détente, by Morton A. Kaplan. United States foreign policy in a revolutionary age, by Morton A. Kaplan. The foundations of national security, by J. William Fulbright. The global crunch, by Frank Church. Old realities and new myths, by Morton A. Kaplan. Viet Nam and bureaucracy, by Albert Wohlstetter. The Viet Nam negotiations, by Henry A. Kissinger. An interview with Ambassador Harriman, by Hedrick Smith. Does the United States have a "real" interest in supporting Israel? by Alan Dowty.--pt. 3. Great issues in military policy: Introduction. The sociology of strategic thinking, by Morton A. Kaplan. To cap the volcano, by McGeorge Bundy. The uncertain strategic balance in the 1970's, by William R. Kintner. Military technology and national security, by Herbert F. York. Missile defense; can it work? by Charles M. Herzfeld. ABM won't kill kids, by Sanford Aranoff and Edward S. Boylan.--Index of major concepts.

Articles on international law, world order, international relations, foreign policy, and military strategy.

1434
Keller, John W. THE CZECHOSLOVAK CRISIS AND THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER. Midwest quarterly, v. 11, spring 1970: 243-261.
AS30.M5, v. 11

Assesses the implications of the 1968 Czechoslovak crisis for NATO, Soviet policy in Europe, European unification, the German question, and French foreign policy.

1435
Kelly, George A., and Linda B. Miller. INTERNAL WAR AND INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS; PERSPECTIVES ON METHOD. [Cambridge, Mass.] Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1969. 40 p. (Occasional papers in international affairs, no. 21) JX4541.K45
Bibliographical references included in "Footnotes" (p. 34-40).

Contents.--The study of internal war.--Systems of interaction.--Images of war systems.--War and revolution.--Revolutions and their boundaries.--Structural war.--The escalation of internal war.--Internal war and global system.--Footnotes.

Suggests connections between political theory, comparative politics, and international relations that could enhance the understanding of internal war and how it affects the international systems. The authors seek to "build bridges between 'history' and 'analysis' and to indicate ways in which 'types' of internal wars may be viewed as products of both particular social systems and the surrounding milieu." They trace some basic themes of internal war in terms of Western technology and ideology; and they call for a reevaluation of the distinctions between Western and non-Western historical experiences. The authors presume that because of its universalizing tendencies "structural war," defined as internal war fought over not only personnel and authority but also substructures of the society, has invaded both the social milieu and the international arena. The study also probes the Algerian revolution and the Sino-Soviet dispute to determine whether the cultural patterns of other civilizations could give rise to structural wars and whether corresponding forces exist elsewhere, independent of the impact of Western technology and ideas.

1436
Kerr, Thomas J. UNITED STATES POWER IN THE MODERN WORLD: THE PARABLE OF THE ELEPHANTS AND CHICKENS. Social studies, v. 61, Mar. 1970: 125-130.
D16.3.S65, v. 61

Examines the attitudes of some small powers toward aspects of U.S. foreign policy. The principal danger in a large power's ignoring the sensibilities and needs of a small power is that the small power may call upon other large powers for assistance and protection and thereby turn a minor conflict into a major one, to everyone's detriment. Americans can reduce this danger by devoting more time to the study of other cultures, becoming more self-critical, and reflecting upon their own historical experience as a small power. The essential thing is "to guard against assertions of superiority, self righteousness and dominance."

1437
Lange, William. [JAPAN IN A NEW PACIFIC AGE] Japan im neuen pazifischen Zeitalter. Aussenpolitik, v. 21, Apr. 1970: 239-247.
D839.A885, v. 21

Notes Japan's emergence as a great power in the Asian-Pacific area; discusses the impact of that change on Japan's relations with the United States, the Soviet Union, and Communist China; and outlines the nation's defense policy.

1438
LEADERSHIP: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL MEN. Journal of international affairs, v. 24, no. 1, 1970: 1-98. JX1.C6, v. 24

Contents.--Editor's foreword.--The role of the individual in international relations: some conceptual and methodological considerations, by Herbert C. Kelman.--Bio-social components of political processes, by Margaret Mead.--The two faces of power, by David C. McClelland.--Leader, commissar, and bureaucrat: the Chinese political system in the last days of the revolution, by John

W. Lewis.--Elite cleavages in African politics: the case of Ghana, by Martin Kilson.--Elite perspectives and the explanation of Soviet foreign policy, by William Zimmerman.

Articles on various aspects of the problem of integrating microlevel psychological variables into institutional and other macrolevel analyses of international behavior. Kelman examines some conceptual and methodological difficulties that are likely to be encountered and discusses the need for and limits to this sort of approach. Mead calls attention to the harm that may be done by the interaction of scientific theory and practical politics, with particular reference to currently popular biological theories of aggression. McClelland, Lewis, Kilson, and Zimmerman offer case studies in the application of microlevel analysis to political elites in specific countries.

1439
Lerner, Daniel, and Albert H. Teich. INTERNATIONALISM AND WORLD POLITICS AMONG CERN SCIENTISTS. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, Feb. 1970: 4-10. illus.
TK9145.A84, v. 26

Results of a study to determine "in some detail the political attitudes of European scientists and to compare these with the attitudes of their non-scientific compatriots." In general, the scientists studied were more leftist and supranationalist than their fellow countrymen.

1440
Lichtheim, George. IMPERIALISM. Commentary, v. 49, Apr. 1970: 42-75; May: 33-58.
DS101.C63, v. 49
Includes bibliographical references.

Historical review of the theory and practice of imperialism from the Roman Empire to the present. Lichtheim criticizes various theories of imperialism that regard the relation of Western capitalism and Soviet state socialism to the underdeveloped countries as basically a new form of classical colonialism. He emphasizes the relative unimportance to the industrial countries of the raw materials and markets of underdeveloped countries. To overcome their economic stagnation and dependence on the industrialized nations, the underdeveloped countries need a determined elite that is capable of dismantling the traditional institutions that stand in the way of modernization. Communist elites that have served this function in Russia, China, and elsewhere have been intelligentsia acting in the name of the proletariat or peasantry but principally independent of any social class. Maoism exerts a strong appeal to underdeveloped countries not as a variation of Marxism but as a form of nationalist populism.

1441
Lyon, Peter H. WAR AND PEACE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1969. 244 p.
DS518.1.L9
Bibliography: p. 231-238.

Contents.--Abbreviations.--Preface.--South-East Asia enters world politics.--Three former international orders.--The states (and nations?) of South-East Asia.--Interests and involvement of outside powers.--Alliances and alignments.--Neutralism and non-alignments.--Welfare and warfare.--Neither war nor peace in South-East Asia.--Further reading.--Index.

Interpretive essay on the main internal and external forces favoring war or peace in the states of Southeast Asia. Lyon notes the difficulties of applying Western political and social concepts to the traditional societies of the region and relates its postwar involvement in international affairs. He examines six possible paths to peace in Southeast Asia: great power intervention, economic development, orderly government, diplomacy, revolution, and "peace between peoples."

1442
Mitchell, John D. CROSS-CUTTING MEMBERSHIPS, INTEGRATION, AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 14, Mar. 1970: 49-55.
JX1901.J6, v. 14
References: p. 55

The author argues that cross-cutting memberships are assumed to be relevant to international organization but are generally ignored in discussions of organizational integration because such memberships tend to be seen as resultant rather than causal in the international integrative process. Still, such memberships seem related to at least six factors which, research has indicated, may influence the integrative process. It is suggested that a useful concept of cross-cutting memberships is that of membership in a number of organizations, not all of which involve identical members or even identical goals or tasks. Such memberships can be classified along a compatible-neutral-competing continuum. It is suggested there is an overemphasis on nation-state actors at the expense of useful consideration of nongovernmental actors in the international system. A conclusion: empirical investigation of the assumption that cross-cutting memberships tend to be resultant rather than causal in the international integrative process might resolve apparent contradictions that are noted. (Abstract supplied)

1443
Montagu, Ashley. SOCIAL INTEREST AND AGGRESSION AS POTENTIALITIES. Journal of individual psychology, v. 26, May 1970: 17-31.
BF1.J65, v. 26

Argues, in opposition to those theorists who impute aggression in man to genetically determined drives or instincts, that "no matter what genetic elements may enter into its development, aggressive behavior in human beings is entirely due to cultural experiences which they have undergone in the genesis of aggression." From an examination of the views of Ardrey, Lorenz, Morris and others, Montagu concludes that there is "no evidence whatever for anything even remotely resembling a spontaneous energy-system, drive or instinct of ag-

gression." In his own view, aggression is largely "the learned reaction to the frustration of the need for love."

1444
[NEW PERSPECTIVES IN THE SOVIET SCIENCE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] Neue Perspektiven in der Sowjetischen Wissenschaft von den internationalen Beziehungen. Osteuropa, v. 20, May 1970: A305-A318.
DR1.08, v. 20

Collected extracts from Soviet publications showing a critical attitude toward, but gradual acceptance of, American methodology in the study of foreign policy. Concepts or procedures like quantification, computer processing, intersubjectivity, and operationalism are particularly attractive to the Soviet political scientist because they offer the possibility of forecasting. However Soviet writers are careful to emphasize that their enthusiasm is about the technique and not the ideology of American political science.

1445
Nieburg, Harold L. POLITICAL VIOLENCE; THE BEHAVIORAL PROCESS. New York, St. Martin's Press [1969] 184 p. JA76.N49
Bibliography: p. 164-171.

Contents.--Preface.--The relevance of violence.--A critique of common theories.--Process and polity.--Escalation and reintegration.--Men, groups, and the state.--Politics of confrontation.--References.--Index.

Views violence as an integral aspect of every political process, the result of competition between individuals, groups, and nations pursuing their own interests. Nieburg sees the ultimate test of a society to be its ability to meet adequately the legitimate demands for social change and thereby obviate the recourse to violence.

1446
Paolozzi, Ursula. COMMUNISM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA; AN ESSAY WITH BIBLIOGRAPHIC SUPPLEMENT. Washington, American University, Center for Research in Social Systems, 1969. 44 p.
Z7164.S67P27

Contents.--The author.--Foreword.--pt. 1. Communism in sub-Saharan Africa--an essay: Aims, strategy, and tactics of the Soviet Union. Communist Chinese efforts and role. The roles of other Communist countries. Communist influence in African political movements. The future of communism in Africa.--pt. 2. A selected bibliography on communism in sub-Saharan Africa: Sources of primary importance. Sources of secondary importance. Supplementary sources.--Notes.--Distribution list.--DD Form 1473.

Essay, with a bibliographic supplement, aimed at helping researchers assess the impact of communism in sub-Saharan Africa. Paolozzi contends that although the Communist states have had little success in penetrating the African body politic, communism has had a limited impact on the thinking of some African leaders; and that Western influence in Africa, which up to now has been predominant, is diminishing.

1447
Payne, James L. THE AMERICAN THREAT; THE FEAR OF WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY. Chicago, Markham Pub. Co. [1970] xiv, 241 p.
E840.P3

Contents.--Introduction.--Threats and the appeasement theory of war.--The application of threat: three cases.--How a threat fails.--The excitation theory of war and the status quo.--The demonstration of will.--The dimensions of commitment.--The utility of courage.--Prestige and world opinion.--Managing peace.--Conclusion.

Assesses the value of the threat of war as an instrument of policy and from that assessment argues that U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War is reasonable. Payne is concerned with the problem--particularly acute in a democracy--of the reconciliation of the competing perspectives of statesman and private citizen on matters of foreign policy. He vindicates the statesman, who, as a practitioner of foreign policy, realizes that threats of war are a permanent feature of the international system and instead of indulging in vain hopes to the contrary devotes himself to learning to use force and the threat of force economically.

1448
Pfaltzgraff, Robert L. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY; A COMPLEX IMBALANCE. New York, Van Nostrand, Reinhold Co. [1969] 216 p. (New perspectives in political science, 22)
D1065.U5P47
Includes bibliographies.

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction, by Robert Strausz-Hupé.--The crisis of the West.--The strategic "dissensus."--The technology gap.--Atlantic economic relationships.--Eastern Europe and the West.--The United States and Western Europe in the 1970's.--Toward a new Atlantic relationship.--Index.

Study of U.S.-West European relations, focusing on the technological, military, and economic disparities that contribute to discontent among members of the Atlantic Community. Pfaltzgraff finds existing institutions inadequate and points to the need for cooperation between the United States and the West European countries in the development of a framework that can accommodate their individual as well as their common policy objectives.

1449
Pivnicki, D. AGGRESSION RECONSIDERED. Comprehensive psychiatry, v. 11, May 1970: 235-241.
RC321.C6, v. 11

Criticizes current uses of the concept "aggression" and some of the new methodologies being applied to the study of human behavior. The concept itself remains ambiguous, partly because of the

multiplicity of meanings now attached to the word, partly because of the failure to distinguish between aggression as faculty and as act. The new methodologies have been a stimulus to data collection, but too often the results are interpreted by means of false, anthropomorphic analogies or with the intention of satisfying unconscious, Rousseauist longings for a return to the state of nature. Perhaps trust and hope rather than knowledge offer the best chance for man's survival.

1450
Radovanović, Ljubomir. INDIVIDUALITY AND EFFICACY OF THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT. Review of international affairs, v. 21, Apr. 20, 1970: 9-11.
D839.R4, v. 21

Rejects as simplistic the definition of nonalinement as the pursuit of an independent foreign policy. The word summarizes a whole set of principles of international relations held in common by countries working to create a political, legal, and moral atmosphere in which the general interests of the international community and the justified special interests of individual countries can thrive. The idea of an organic link binding nonalined countries to increase the efficiency of their policy is rejected. The great military blocs are not entities bound together by natural unity but are maintained by pressure and discipline of a kind impossible for the nonalined countries.

1451
Rothchild, Donald. ETHNICITY AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION. World politics, v. 22, July 1970: 597-616.
D839.W57, v. 22

Review of the recent literature on social and cultural cleavages within the new states. Rothchild suggests that the depth of the cleavages among the collectivities in the pluralist states is such that their domestic intergroup relations resemble the type of political process appearing in the international order. Similar techniques of persuasion, boycott, bargaining, and force are employed.

1452
Scalapino, Robert A., ed. THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN ASIA: TACTICS, GOALS, AND ACHIEVEMENTS. 2d ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall [1969] 424 p.
DS35.S35 1969

Contents.--Communism in Asia: toward a comparative analysis, by Robert A. Scalapino.--Building a Communist nation in China, by Chalmers Johnson.--Mongolia: the first Communist state in Asia, by M. T. Haggard.--Stalinism in the East: Communism in North Korea, by Chong-Sik Lee.--North Vietnam: left of Moscov, right of Peking, by John C. Donnell and Melvin Gurtov.--The Pathet Lao: a liberation party, by Bernard B. Fall.--The Japanese Communist Party: Yoyogi and its rivals, by Hans H. Baerwald.--Communism in Singapore and Malaysia: a multifront struggle, by Frances L. Starner.--The rise and fall of the Communist Party in Indonesia, by Guy J. Pauker.--The Communist Parties of Burma, by John H. Badgley.--Revisionists and sectarians: India's two Communist Parties, by Ralph Retzlaff.--Communism under high atmospheric conditions: the party in Nepal, by Leo E. Rose.--The Communist Parties of Ceylon: rivalry and alliance, by Robert N. Kearney.

A comparative analysis and country-by-country survey of communism in the major nations of Asia. The dominant trend in the Asian Communist movement today is pluralism, a reflection of the ascendancy of "nationalist" over "internationalist" Communists in most parties. The intent of most Communist leaders is to acquire "the maximum independence, power, and maneuverability for their own Parties and movements," and although other Asian parties may one day become satellites of Communist China, it is unlikely that "Peking, even if it wishes to do so, can ever effect the type of control that Moscow once exercised via the Comintern." Chinese control would "be more subtle, although not necessarily less effective." In the long run, the future of communism in Asia will be determined largely by the kind of balance of power that develops in the region and by the success of non-Communist Asians in finding and exploiting alternatives to Communist-style development.

1453
Schram, Stuart R., and Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, comps. MARXISM AND ASIA: AN INTRODUCTION WITH READINGS. [Translated from the French. New ed.] with additions. London, Allen Lane, 1969. 404 p.
HX384.S3413 1969
Bibliography: p. 375-379.
Translation of Le marxisme et l'Asie, 1853-1964.

Contents.--Preface to the English edition.--Introduction: Marxist views of the non-European world prior to the October revolution. Problems of the revolution in the East in the days of the Comintern. Towards Asiocentric communism. Conclusion.--Texts: Marx and the Second International. Lenin and his contemporaries prior to the founding of the Third International. The second congress of the Communist International. The problem of a colonial revolution in the light of Russian experience. The International and revolution in the East, 1921-4. Chinese communism from the origins to 1927. The Comintern and revolution in the colonies, 1928-34. Revolution in Asia in the period of the Popular Front and the Second World War. From the seventh congress of the Chinese Communist Party to the death of Stalin. From Stalin's death to the Great Leap Forward. The Moscow conference of 1960 and its sequels. The Sino-Soviet rupture. Recent tendencies.--Chronology.--Bibliography.--Index.

Traces "the successive stages in the acclimatization of Marxism to Asia over the past century." The authors note the growing divergence between European and Asian Marxists, particularly on the issue of revolution, and assess the implications of this development for relations between industrial and nonindustrial countries. They conclude that in present circumstances Marxists must choose

"between a scholastic Marxism which has nothing to do with revolution and a revolution which has nothing in common with Marxism."

1454
Stanford University. Committee on Violence. VIOLENCE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE. Work of the Committee on Violence of the Department of Psychiatry, Stanford University School of Medicine. Edited by David N. Daniels, Marshall F. Gilula [and] Frank M. Ochberg. Foreword by Coretta Scott King. Boston, Little, Brown [c1970] xvi, 451 p. illus. HN59.S74
Includes bibliographies.

Partial contents.--Introduction: the crisis of violence, by David N. Daniels, Marshall F. Gilula, and Frank M. Ochberg.--pt. 1. Theories of aggression, by R. Charles Boelkins and John F. Heiser. Psychodynamic aspects of aggression, hostility, and violence, by George F. Solomon. Environmental theories of violence, by Frederic W. Ilfeld. Anger and attack: a cybernetic model of violence, by Frederick T. Melges and Robert F. Harris. Alternatives to violence: strategies for coping with social conflict, by Frederic W. Ilfeld and Richard J. Metzner.--pt. 3. Recommendations and conclusions: Violence and the struggle for existence, by David N. Daniels and Marshall F. Gilula. --Index.

Examines biological, psychological, environmental, and cybernetic theories of violence and proposes measures for dealing with both domestic and international violence. The authors focus on violence as a means of adapting to one's natural and social environment and explore more productive alternatives to violent behavior in a technological society.

1455
Teger, Allan I. THE EFFECT OF EARLY COOPERATION ON THE ESCALATION OF CONFLICT. Journal of experimental social psychology, v. 6, Apr. 1970: 187-204. HM251.J53, v. 6

Subjects played an experimental game in which they received a hostile act of varying magnitude either at the start of interaction or after a period of cooperation. The latter condition resulted in greater retaliation, a conflict of greater magnitude, and a conflict of longer duration. This was true regardless of the size of the hostile act. When the hostile act was small, prior cooperation reduced the retaliation somewhat if the confederate was regarded as having been helpful at the start. The results were interpreted in terms of theories of expectancy disconfirmation and social exchange. Subjects scoring high on the Mach scale responded with a greater immediate retaliation, while subjects with low tolerance for ambiguity extended the conflict longer. Neither personality measure correlated with more general measures of aggressive and competitive behavior. It was proposed that more specific indices be substituted for the overall measure of competitive behavior that is often used in gaming research. (Abstract supplied)

1456
Thompson, Vincent B. AFRICA AND UNITY: THE EVOLUTION OF PAN-AFRICANISM. With a foreword by Basil Davidson. [New York] Humanities Press [1970, c1969] 412 p. illus., ports. DT21.T47 1970
Bibliography: p. [380]-393.

Contents.--Preface.--Foreword, by Basil Davidson.--Prologue.--Introduction.--pt. 1. The remote causes: The Pan-African background.--pt. 2. The first phase: Ideas in gestation. Balance of forces. The 'lull' period, 1946-57. Impact on Africa.--pt. 3. Second phase: Favourable post-war factors. The Accra Conferences, 1958. Cleavage. The origin of the Monrovia group.--pt. 4. Continuity: The Addis Ababa Conference, May 1963. Pan-Africanism in Southern Africa, I. Pan-Africanism in Southern Africa, II. Two major problems. Crucial figures in the contemporary Pan-African movement and their ideas. Pan-Africanism and international relations. What next?--Epilogue.--Documents.

Argues that the success of the African struggle for economic and political survival is dependent on the degree to which Africans can find ways of combining their strength and efforts and analyzes historically the ideas and institutions conducive to unification and today's opportunities and difficulties. Thompson studies the protest activity leading up to the organizational effort that made Pan-African activity possible and discusses the attempts to provide an ideological content for the movement. In the postwar situation, he emphasizes Nkrumah's leadership and the independence of Congo-Kinshasa. He examines the "legacies of colonialism" and experiments in the amalgamation of territories in a detailed study of the formation of the Organization of African Unity and analyzes the international relationships of Pan-Africanism to shed light on possible future developments.

1457
U.S. Dept. of State. THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE: FACT BOOK OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. Compiled and written by officials of the U.S. Department of State. Introd. by Gene Gurney. New York, Crown [1970] 792 p. illus. D849.U55 1970

Contents.--Introduction, by Gene Gurney.--Area grouping.--Background notes on the countries of the world.--International organizations series: The Central Treaty Organization. The Organization of African Unity. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The European Communities.

Compilation of facts and figures for over 150 countries, including brief reading lists and a list of each country's principal government officials and U.S. officials assigned there.

FOREIGN POLICIES

1458
Alperovitz, Gar. COLD WAR ESSAYS. With an introd. by Christopher Lasch. Garden City, N.Y., Anchor Books, 1970. 150 p. (A Doubleday Anchor original A664) E813.A76 1970

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction, by Christopher Lasch.--Dickering with the Nazis.--How did the cold war begin?--The use of the atomic bomb.--The United States, the revolutions, and the cold war: perspective and prospect.--Appendix: Letters.--Bibliographic note.--Index.

Historical essays on U.S. foreign policy and the origins of the cold war. In the first essay, Alperovitz argues that Allen Dulles deliberately misled his superiors on the nature of secret negotiations conducted with the Nazis near the end of World War II and that these negotiations damaged Soviet-U.S. relations, thus increasing the difficulties of a satisfactory postwar settlement. In the second essay, he challenges the thesis of inexorable Soviet expansionism and the consequent need for containment first advanced by George Kennan in 1947 and subsequently adopted by most liberal historians. Alperovitz finds substantial evidence of an initial Soviet willingness to settle for compromise settlement in 1945 and 1946, and questions "whether either of the Great Powers ever really moved inexorably." In a critique of Herbert Feis's The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II (1966), Alperovitz discerns a strong ambivalence on the part of Feis, whose evidence Alperovitz regards as supportive of his contention that diplomatic rather than military considerations led the United States to drop the bomb on Japan; specifically, that the United States wanted to impress the Soviet Union with the power of this new weapon before the Soviet Union entered the war. The final essay is a review of U.S. interventions to thwart or defeat leftist revolutionary movements. The author seeks answers to the questions: "How, historically, did the choices and dilemmas come to be structured as we now perceive them? How does a democratic political culture come to organize itself to so force a decision-maker's hand?" He concludes that the failure of the policy of interventionism is increasingly evident and that a fundamental restructuring of American attitudes and institutions is necessary if the Nation is to cope with changes at home and abroad.

1459
AMERICA AND THE WORLD; FROM THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE TO VIETNAM [by] Robert E. Osgood [and others] Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [1970] 434 p. (Johns Hopkins paperback JH-68)
E840.A615
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Foreword.--Introduction: reappraisal of American policy, by Robert E. Osgood.--pt. 1. The principals: The American outlook, by Robert W. Tucker. The Soviet outlook, by Herbert S. Dinerstein.--pt. 2. The conditions: The domestic scene, by Francis E. Rourke. The military issues, by Robert E. Osgood. The economic constraints, by Isaiah Frank.--pt. 3. The arenas: Europe, by Laurence W. Martin. The Third World, by George Liska.--Index.

A reappraisal of America's experience in the cold war, America's response to that experience, and elements of continuity and change in American foreign policy, together with speculation on the major policy issues of the near future.

1460
Arbatov, G. A. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 1970'S. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 22, Mar. 24, 1970: 3-6, 16.
D839.C87, v. 22
Condensed translation from S. SH. A.-Ekonomika, politika, ideologiia, no. 1, 1970, p. 21-34.
Slav Rm

The lack of correspondence between the foreign policy strategy of American imperialism and the actual conditions of the modern world became apparent in the late 1950's and early 1960's. The resulting reorientation boiled down to a modernization of means and tactics while leaving untouched the aims and strategy of foreign policy, and, in the classic imperialist style, the military power was retained as the key factor. The "flexible response" and "two-and-a-half war" concepts were accompanied by a buildup of the weapons necessary for "massive retaliation," and the "bridge-building" policy was introduced. The effect of this modernization is reducible to the efforts to use military power on a global scale for political pressure and blackmail and to erode the Socialist community. Not only did these policies fail to achieve the goals set but they also undermined the international position of the United States and complicated its domestic situation. The Vietnam war has concentrated, as in a focusing lens, the bankruptcy of the new departures in foreign policy thinking. It is simplistic to conclude that since the United States is, and will continue to be for the foreseeable future, an imperialist power it will pursue an imperialist policy. The restraining factors here are the realities of the situation and the strength of the resistance offered by its opponents. In addition, economic, moral, and political motivations have moved some Americans to oppose the expansionist foreign policy and the arms race. The present administration has replaced the slogan "superiority" by "sufficiency," but it inconsistently makes minor budget cuts in areas of secondary importance while building whole new weapons systems. In its relationships with the U.S.S.R., it has proclaimed a transition from confrontation to negotiation but has delayed in coming to the strategic arms limitation talks. What direction will the new policy take? Will it once again be only a question of finding new methods to attain the old aims, "aims that have long since demonstrated their impracticability?"

1461
BACKGROUND INFORMATION RELATING TO PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND OTHER AREAS. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 79 p. map. JX1417.B3

At head of title: 91st Congress, 2d session, Committee print.

"Printed for use of the Committee on Foreign Relations," J. W. Fulbright, Chairman.

A collection of pending Senate resolutions relating to peace and security in Southeast Asia and other areas; excerpts from collective defense treaties including the North Atlantic Treaty, the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, and the Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and Korea; and a textual comparison of laws concerning peace and security in Vietnam, Cuba, Formosa, and the Middle East.

1462
Barman, Thomas. BRITAIN, FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY: THE CHANGING PATTERN OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP IN EUROPE. International affairs (London) v. 46, Apr. 1970: 269-279. JX1.I53, v. 46

Great Britain is faced with its first opportunity in years to become a member of the European community and play a constructive role in a West European settlement. Since De Gaulle resigned, France has been following rather than leading West Germany in its policy toward Eastern Europe. The absence of De Gaulle's pressure to reunify Germany and the increase in Germany's strength are likely to enhance West Germany's positions in NATO, the Common Market, and the Western European Union. However, any British tendencies to draw closer to Bonn and force France to abandon some of its essential interests in the market or in nuclear weapons or to "gangup" with France against West Germany must be discouraged. A working arrangement between London, Paris, and Bonn is the only way to a West European settlement.

1463
Barnett, A. Doak. CHINA AND U.S. POLICY: A TIME OF TRANSITION. Current scene, v. 8, May 15, 1970: 1-10. DS701.C9, v. 8

Now that China has renewed its foreign policy activities following the conclusion of the cultural revolution, the most significant change seems to be in its relationship with the Soviet Union, now regarded by Peking as a greater threat to Chinese security than the United States. The possibility of war with the Soviet Union is probably the overriding consideration in China's foreign policy, impelling the Chinese to reexamine their policies and affecting their relations globally. Although China has not yet clearly outlined a new foreign policy or strategy, it has demonstrated increased flexibility, and it appears to be searching for new approaches. U.S. attitudes toward China are also changing gradually. Although important modifications in U.S. China policy were made during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, the most crucial changes have occurred under President Nixon and are due primarily to a more favorable American assessment of the "China threat." Sino-American relations may improve gradually, and although there are major obstacles to be overcome, it may be possible to reach an agreement on some issues. The United States, however, must be prepared to continue making unilateral policy adjustments with the assumption that Peking will eventually reciprocate. Since it is reasonable to assume that U.S. strategic capabilities will deter the Chinese from employing nuclear weapons offensively against the United States or its allies in the foreseeable future, America should seek a strategic arms limitation agreement that prohibits the deployment of an ABM system directed against China. "We should take the problem of China policy fully into account in our general strategic and arms control policy." There will be an increasingly complicated multipolar relationship in Asia in which the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, and China will play influential though independent roles. Of the six bilateral relationships in this four-power balance, the U.S-China relationship may have the greatest potential for change.

1464
Beck, Christopher. IN TUNE WITH WASHINGTON. Far Eastern economic review, v. 68, June 4, 1970: 27, 29, 31. HC411.F18, v. 68

Although Australia and the United States have pursued parallel courses in Southeast Asia, "what is superficially seen as complete Australian dependence on America in foreign policy is actually a rather holey fallacy." Over the last five years, Canberra has restructured its foreign policy priorities, and Asia is now its most important sphere. Australia's increasing involvement in Vietnam and its belief in the "rightness" of the war acknowledge the fact that Australia's security will depend on the containment of communism. The deteriorating situation in Indochina, the Vietnamization program, the Guam Doctrine, and continuing large-scale U.S. troop withdrawals appeared to undermine Canberra's Southeast Asian policy. A retreat to Malaysia and Singapore seemed inevitable, but the outlook changed with the U.S. and South Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia. Vietnam is probably the major component in Australia's policy of forward defense, recently designated "regional defense" with an eye to developing regional co-responsibility. Australia has therefore affirmed its commitment to defend Malaysia and Singapore against external aggression or subversion. While Canberra has recently increased regional diplomatic contacts, it has not established meaningful relationships with Indonesia or the Philippines. Australia appears to be revamping its policy toward Japan, anticipating the planned U.S. withdrawal from Indochina and the subsequent formation of a military vacuum there. "Australia would welcome a re-armed Japan to contain China, which traditionally Canberra has claimed to have expansionist aims." Although Australia's foreign policy is "never very consistent it is, by its very opportunism, highly adaptable. It lags in some areas and thrusts in others. Undoubtedly it is the best

policy, considering all the contingencies, that this conservative government can give us."

1465
Birnbaum, Karl E. [THE SOVIET UNION, NORDIC COOPERATION AND THE INTEGRATION OF WESTERN EUROPE] L'Union soviétique, la coopération nordique et l'intégration de l'Europe occidentale. Politique étrangère, v. 35, no. 3, 1970: 269-283.
JX3.P6, 1970

Soviet policy consists of guaranteeing and consolidating, by all methods, Moscow's preponderance inside its sphere of influence; consequently it includes preventing Finland from being drawn into a Scandinavian system. Cooperation among the Nordic states dates back to the 19th century, but it was limited to the legislative and social field. The Soviet Union accepted, with qualifications, the four Scandinavian countries' accession to the European Free Trade Association. But when it was a question of establishing NORDEK, which not only would have exploited their common resources but would also have consolidated the position of the Nordic nations in the event of negotiations with the Common Market, Moscow's warnings dissuaded Finland from becoming an adherent to the treaty. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1466
Bøstrup, Bjørn A. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF NORWAY. Oslo, Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Press Department, 1968. 23 p.
DL458.B6

Contents.--Independent since 1905.--In the League of Nations.--Arctic and Antarctic interests.--Reappraisal.--In NATO.--Unilateral restrictions.--Non-nuclear.--The Nordic balance.--Relations with Eastern Europe.--The German problem.--Founding member of the U.N.--Universality.--Peacekeeping operations.--Decolonization.--Economic policy.--Shipping.--Foreign trade.--Trade liberalization.--The EEC.--Development aid.--Nordic cooperation.--Pooling positions.--Broad parliamentary basis.

Surveys Norway's foreign policy and outlines the nation's role in today's world. Bøstrup notes that Norway has never considered developing nuclear weapons and that it has for many years endeavored to prevent proliferation by striving for a total test ban and a reduction of the superpowers' nuclear capabilities.

1467
Brandt, Willy. CHANCELLOR AFTER ERFURT: "PRACTICAL RESULTS ARE POSSIBLE" BUT NOT CERTAIN. In Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-) Presse- und Informationsamt. Bulletin, a weekly survey of German affairs, v. 18, Mar. 24, 1970: 71-72.
DD259.A35, v. 18

Based on his report to the Bundestag, March 20, 1970.

"Evaluates the significance of the East-West German 'summit' talks," held on March 19, 1970. Brandt contends that East German political leaders "have to struggle with the same or similar problems" as West German leaders. Although the meeting has brought out great differences between the two sides, it was an important beginning in a series of talks that should bring about gradual rapprochement between them. Some East German demands are legally and morally baseless. Contrary to the East German draft treaty submitted in December 1969, the two German states cannot regard each other as foreign countries. Any contractual arrangement between them must take into consideration the Four Power agreements on Germany and the agreements between the Federal Republic and the Three Powers. Bonn's undertaking of summit talks with East Germany was in line with its foreign policy and did not affect its firm adherence to the Atlantic alliance.

1468
Burns, Arthur L. WHO ARE THE AUSTRALIANS? Round table, the Commonwealth quarterly, no. 238, Apr. 1970: 145-152.
AP4.R6, 1970

Asserts that Australians will manage their foreign affairs more realistically when they acknowledge that they are British and that "Australia represents one of the British variants of European civilization and cannot conjure up for herself a more exotic identity." The supposed Americanizing and Asiaticizing now taking place are "illusions of perspective."

1469
Casella, Alessandro. U.S.-THAI RELATIONS. World today, v. 26, Mar. 1970: 118-125.
D410.W63, v. 26

The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee's well-publicized inquiry into the secret agreement signed by the United States and Thailand in 1965 is causing some very painful headaches in Washington and Bangkok. It is indicative of the present mood in Washington that this agreement, which may appear to threaten a "new Vietnam" but, in reality, is already outdated, has not been allowed to sink into oblivion. The public revelations have been particularly painful to Thai officials, who, to protect themselves from charges of having compromised Thailand's honor or "sold out" to the United States, insisted on keeping the agreement secret. Their first reaction was to demand the "immediate evacuation" of the almost 50,000 U.S. troops on Thai soil; later they backtracked on this demand, but resentment of the U.S. presence, now openly expressed, remains high. Unfortunately, the fluidity of the present situation in Southeast Asia offers Thailand no firm ground on which to build a new policy. The future course of Thai foreign policy, and with it, the fate of the U.S. troop commitment in Thailand, "will ultimately depend not so much on the termination of the [Vietnam] war as on the terms on which it is terminated." The presence of the U.S. troops contravenes the traditionally cautious policy that served Thailand so well during the colonial era and World War II, but the Thais can do little un-

til they have determined "which way the wind will blow." Whether Thai diplomacy will be as successful in the future as it has been in the past remains to be seen, but if past performance is any indication, the Thai leopard "should again prove agile enough to land on its feet."

1470
Caspary, William R. THE "MOOD THEORY": A STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY. American political science review, v. 64, June 1970: 536-547. JA1.A6, v. 64

"An empirical investigation of the evidence for the 'mood theory' proposed by Gabriel Almond as one element of his classic study, The American People and Foreign Policy." Caspary contends that both the premise of the mood theory, the generally low attention given foreign affairs, and its conclusion, the instability of support for foreign policy commitments, are demonstrably inaccurate. The alternative interpretation is suggested that American public opinion is characterized by a strong and stable "permissive mood" toward international involvements.

1471
Church, Frank. LATIN AMERICA: TOWARD A NEW POLICY. Vital speeches of the day, v. 36, May 1, 1970: 418-423. PN6121.V52, v. 36
Delivered in the U.S. Senate, Apr. 10, 1970.

The intensifying social problems of Latin America portend a decade of turmoil and upheaval and an increase in the popularity of nationalist and leftist political movements. Much of the blame for anti-U.S. sentiment among Latin Americans can be traced to the nature of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) program, particularly to the numerous strings attached to grants and loans. Conservative and liberal members of Congress alike annually vote military assistance for Latin America on the assumption that a strong indigenous army is essential to combat communism and maintain domestic stability even though some of the strongest opposition to U.S. policy has recently come from the military; e.g., in Bolivia and Peru. Economic assistance is similarly viewed as a status quo, antirevolutionary measure, not as an incentive for basic social change. The consequence is that the U.S. AID program has been a major contributor to the deterioration of inter-American relations. The program could be improved by granting preferential trade agreements, adhering strictly to the principle of nonintervention, withdrawing U.S. military missions and training programs, liquidating the present government-to-government AID program in favor of funneling aid through an international body, and encouraging joint ventures in which Latin Americans share in ownership and control of investments.

1472
Clark, Gregory. IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE WEST. Far Eastern economic review, v. 68, June 11, 1970: 31-32. HC411.F18, v. 68

Canada plans to recognize Communist China but not necessarily Peking's territorial claim to Taiwan. In effect Ottawa is adopting a "two Chinas" approach, a policy that envisions Taiwan's eventual independence but is unacceptable to both Taipei and Peking. Although Japan recognizes the Nationalist Government in Taiwan, it has effectively sought trade and negotiations with both governments and clearly rejects the "two Chinas" policy. The Sato-Nixon communique concerning the return of Okinawa, which outlines the role of Taiwan and South Korea in Japan's security system and which elicited a sharply critical response in Peking, marked the beginning of a gradual trend toward a "two Chinas" policy in Japan. The turning point in Japanese-Chinese relations appears to be Sato's 1967 visit to Taiwan, but the Okinawa communique was probably the most significant factor in the breakdown in Sino-Japanese relations. Evidence suggests that it was "more the result of accident than Japanese hostility." Whereas Japan now views South Korea as being in its sphere of influence and "would go quite a long way to frustrate any North Korean takeover," it could not risk a military confrontation with China over Taiwan. At the same time, the Japanese did not wish to be estranged from the United States, hence they devised the formula broached in the Sato-Nixon communique. This characterized South Korea as "essential" but Taiwan as merely "most important" to Japanese security; it also expressed a desire for improved relations with China. Japan believed it was making a clear distinction between its interests in South Korea and Taiwan and officials in the Foreign Ministry were surprised and disappointed in Peking's hostile reaction.

1473
Clemens, Walter C. CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND U.S. POLICY: ALL OR NOTHING AT ALL? War/peace report, v. 10, Jan. 1970: 14-19. JX1901.W38, v. 10

Although the United States could have played only a minor role in Czechoslovakia, it could have influenced Soviet decisionmakers by its position without risking escalation to nuclear war. It should have recognized the priority of Europe, avoided overinvolvement, considered the merits of action and progress over absolute stability, and understood the consequences of "bridgebuilding" and the actions available to deter Soviet agression against the satellite countries. Further, Washington should have stressed that an armed intervention would make it impossible to proceed with a summit conference and with other proposals that could contribute to détente. Western diplomacy could have sought to assuage Soviet fears of losing its "first strategic echelon" by proving that arrangements could be negotiated that would protect Soviet security interests. Although Czechoslovakia marks the end of a chapter in Eastern Europe's political evolution, it hardly signifies the end of change in that area. Other liberal challenges to Soviet hegemony will arise, and the time may come when conditions are ripe for a Western-backed European security conference that could lead to a major accommodation in Europe.

1474
Copeland, Miles. THE GAME OF NATIONS; THE AMORALITY OF POWER POLITICS. New York, Simon and Schuster [1969] 318 p. E183.8.E35C6 1970

Contents.--Preface.--Map.--The events in proper order.--The Washington "peace game" center.--The "political action" experiments in Syria: 1947-49. --The search for a true leader in Egypt: 1951-52. --The emergence of Nasser, our "independent ally." --The "Nasser-type" leader and his "repressive base."--The "Nasser-type" leader and his "constructive base."--Nasser's "positive neutralism." --Nasser's "union" of positive neutralists.--Nasserism and terrorism.--The showdown of 1958: crisis in Lebanon.--The home-front costs to Egypt of Nasserist foreign policy.--The bipolar world becomes a multipolar world.--The climax: the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967 and its aftermath.--Appendix: Power problems of a revolutionary government.--Suggested list.--Index.

Case study of the relations between a great power and an undeveloped nation determined to modernize under revolutionary leadership. Copeland examines postwar U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East, particularly Egypt, based largely on his own diplomatic experience and personal acquaintance with President Nasser. He argues that Nasser has pursued policies that any intelligent leader of a nation in similar circumstances would have pursued and attempts to dispel a number of idealistic and moralistic misconceptions about the nature of diplomacy in general.

1475
Dahrendorf, Ralf. GERMAN "OSTPOLITIK": APPEASEMENT OR DETENTE? Vital speeches of the day, v. 36, June 1970: 517-520. PN6121.V52, v. 36

Abridged unofficial translation of a speech delivered before the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, Apr. 22, 1970.

The new West German Government has made several separate but related peace initiatives in Europe. At the summit meeting of Common Market countries in December 1969 it urged the economic, military, and, above all, political consolidation of Western Europe as a prerequisite to negotiations with the East. The government has opened discussions with Poland on the German-Polish border and has encouraged the Western Powers, which alone can negotiate the status of Berlin, to synchronize their efforts with West German initiatives. Also, it has held talks with the Soviet Union on the mutual renunciation of force, which could lead to more positive agreements. In its talks with East Germany, the Federal Government recognizes that no rational solution to German reunification is possible now, but it believes that the first steps toward rapprochement must be made at this time. Critics of these peace initiatives argue that negotiations with the Soviet Union and its allies will only consolidate the status quo, but they fail to see that the primary purpose of negotiations is to build bridges that make more meaningful agreements possible. Agreement with the Communist countries does not imply that West Germany condones their domestic policies. Even if negotiations with the East fail, the effort will not have been in vain if it leads to the consolidation of Western Europe. Only those who refuse to accept these peace initiatives will be weakened.

1476
Deshingkar, G. D. US-CHINA RELATIONS: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT. China report, v. 6, Jan./Feb. 1970: 23-29. DS777.55.C4484, v. 6

Views Sino-American relations since 1945 and considers the implications of resuming the Warsaw talks, recent U.S. trade concessions and reduced naval patrols in the Taiwan Straits, and the Taiwan problem. There is mounting diplomatic support for a "one China" solution in favor of Communist China, and while the Nationalists might seek an accord with the Communists, the possibility of an independent and sovereign Taiwan is remote. Although the recent U.S. initiatives, which have been undermined by the new Japanese-American understanding, were probably based on the assumption that the Sino-Soviet crisis would produce a Sino-American rapprochement, Peking appears to be ready to deal with enemies on two fronts. Deshingkar concludes that "Warsaw is . . . not the place to look for a normalization of Sino-US relations."

1477
Dizdarević, Faik. MIDDLE EAST CRISIS AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES. Review of international affairs, v. 21, Mar. 5, 1970: 4-5. D839.R4, v. 21

Concrete action is imperative in view of the constant deterioration of the Middle East situation since President Tito's 1968 visit. If Israel and America continue in their policies and the United Nations remains ineffective, the nonalined countries must again take an active hand. The example of Libya is instructive. Applying the principles of the policy of nonalinement, Libya demanded the evacuation of the American and British military bases. The nonalined countries could provide greater, more systematic political and other assistance to the Arab countries; explicitly recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people; and apply diplomatic, economic, and military sanctions against Israel. The nonalined countries might demand from the forthcoming session of the U.N. General Assembly an integral application, under the threat of sanctions, of the November 22, 1967, resolution on the Middle East. A new conference of nonalined countries might then be convened to induce the great powers to observe their obligations as members of the Security Council.

1478
Eldridge, Philip J. THE POLITICS OF FOREIGN AID IN INDIA. New York, Schocken Books [1970] xx, 289 p. HC435.2.E44 1970

Bibliography: p. [269]-281.

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction.--pt. 1. Foreign donors; methods and objectives: Economic data. Development of American aid policy in India. Objectives of Soviet aid policy in India. --pt. 2. The political impact of foreign aid in India: The politics of aid; the Indian response. Food aid. Foreign aid and investment in the Indian oil industry. Foreign aid in the steel industry. Foreign private capital; some political aspects. Military aid.--Conclusion.--Notes.--Index.

Distinguishes the basic economic characteristics of aid to India and the objectives of the American and Soviet donors. The analysis of the political impact of aid on India defines the basic principles of Indian policy, identifies the area of friction with the donors, and assesses the political consequences of the aid programs. Eldridge concludes that attempts to link aid with military policy have been almost entirely unsuccessful, the existence of the Soviet-U.S. rivalry has increased India's bargaining power, and, while aid has influenced popular Indian attitudes, issues affecting national prestige have had a greater influence.

1479
Fleming, Denna F. AMERICA'S ROLE IN ASIA. New York, Funk & Wagnalls [1969] 209 p.
DS518.8.F55
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Preface.--What is our role in East Asia?--Can we play God in Asia?--Can Pax Americana succeed?--Policies propelling the United States toward an attack on China.--Vietnam and after.--Vietnam and the crashing dominoes.--What are our responsibilities in Asia?--Can we achieve a workable role in the world?--Index.

Critique of U.S. policy in the Far East since World War II, emphasizing the effects of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam from 1965 to 1968. Fleming argues for rejection of the policy of containment in favor of a reduced U.S. global military role and increased efforts toward cooperation with Communist governments.

1480
Fontaine, André. POMPIDOU'S MEDITERRANEAN POLICY. Interplay, v. 3, Apr. 1970: 11-14. illus.
Ser

French relations with the Maghreb have improved since Bizerte and since Mehdi Ben Barka's assassination partly because France is the only country acceptable to the Arabs that can counterbalance Soviet penetration into the Mediterranean. Its own security demands that France prevent the establishment of a Red Army outpost along the North African coast. Since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, France can no longer afford the luxury of a "tous azimuts" defense nor can it ignore the defense of its southern flank, "the soft underbelly of Europe." In view of France's oil interests in the Mediterranean, its economic interests in Tunisia and Morocco, and the revival of its cultural influence in North Africa, "it would have been surprising had De Gaulle's successor failed to explore every possibility of improving relations with the nations of the western Mediterranean." These conditions explain the French foreign minister's visits to Algiers and Tunis and the scheduled resumption of normal diplomatic relations with Morocco. The French sale of 110 Mirage jets to Libya provoked a storm because of the government's lack of candor or adroitness. Had President Pompidou stated that Libya would turn to the Soviet Union if its offer to buy Mirages were rejected, that France's oil interests would benefit by the sale, and that the sale would encourage cultural and economic cooperation with Libya, he would have more easily justified his policy to the French public.

1481
FOREIGN POLICY AND THE DEVELOPING NATION. [Papers by] Henry Bienen [and others] Richard Butwell, editor. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1969. 236 p. D839.3.F58
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction: Contemporary international relations and development, by Richard Butwell.--Political development and foreign policy, by Wilson Carey McWilliams.--Foreign policy and social change, by Gayl D. Ness.--Foreign policy, the military, and development: military assistance and political change in Africa, by Henry Bienen.--Foreign economic policy and economic development, by Benjamin Higgins.--Level of development and international behavior, by Ivo K. and Rosalind L. Feierabend with Frank W. Scanland III and John Stuart Chambers.--Levels of political development and interstate conflict in South Asia, by Lloyd Jensen.--American influence in developed and underdeveloped countries, by Rupert Emerson.

Analyzes the influence of the level of development upon initiating or responding states in the international community. McWilliams examines the theoretical framework basic to the study of the relationship between foreign policy and political development. Ness studies three cases of successful American influence in an area of social change in foreign nations and two cases of failure. Bienen deals with U.S. military assistance and political change in Africa. Higgins surveys foreign economic policy and development, and the Feierabends present an analysis of all the world's countries that suggests relationships between development and foreign policy behavior. Jensen inquires into the relationship between political stability and the conflict behavior of India and Pakistan, and Emerson concerns himself with the contrasts between U.S.-European relations and American relations with the developing countries.

1482
Franck, Thomas M., and Edward Weisband. THE JOHNSON-BREZHNEV DOCTRINES: VERBAL BEHAVIOR ANALYSIS OF SUPERPOWER CONFRONTATIONS. New York, New York

University, Center for International Studies, c1970. 38 p. (New York University. Center for International Studies. Policy papers, v. 3, no. 2) JX1555.Z5 1970b
Footnotes: p. 33-38.

Evaluates the importance of verbal strategy in Soviet-U.S. relations. Franck and Weisband note four basic similarities between U.S. rationalizations of its interventions in Latin America and Soviet justifications for intervening in Czechoslovakia: (1) both insisted that interstate disputes must be settled within regional groupings (i.e., the Organization of American States and the Warsaw Pact); (2) both denied the right to ideological nonconformity to any member of the regional grouping; (3) each claimed that support for nonconformity in the other's regional grouping constituted subversion, even though no material support was involved; (4) both asserted the right to repel "subversion" by force with or without the consent of the state affected. Relations between the superpowers are reciprocal. Each develops certain expectations as to the other's behavior on the basis of what the other says and does; the one is inhibited from preventing the other from doing what it has done. U.S. rationalizations of interventions in Latin America were an important factor in the Soviet decision to intervene in Czechoslovakia; the Brezhnev doctrine reciprocated the Johnson doctrine. Given its own record of intervention in the Dominican Republic, it was impossible for the Johnson administration to mount a credible deterrence strategy in the summer of 1968 short of threatening nuclear war.

1483
Fredman, Lionel E. THE UNITED STATES ENTERS THE PACIFIC. [Sydney] Angus and Robertson [1969] 110 p. illus., maps.
DU30.F7
Bibliography: p. [106]-107.

Contents.--The expansion of Europe.--The course of empire.--Around the Pacific.--The United States and Australia.--The United States and China.--The United States and Japan.--Index.

Brief study of American expansion into the Mississippi Valley, the Louisiana territory, and the west coast; the entry of Americans into the Pacific; "and the continuing lure of China, Japan and the islands for her seamen, traders and missionaries." Australia is emphasized because the book was "written by an Australian for Australians."

1484
Fromkin, David. ENTANGLING ALLIANCES. Foreign affairs, v. 48, July 1970: 688-700.
D410.F6, v. 48

Are the treaties of alliance that the United States has entered into since World War II responsible for U.S. involvement in other unforeseen conflicts? The treaty commitments of the United States are less binding than is generally supposed. De jure commitments such as NATO, the Rio Pact, ANZUS, and SEATO do not bind the United States to go to war in the event of an attack on an ally. Apparent commitments, those that the United States is commonly regarded as having undertaken but for which there are no legal obligations--e.g., the belief that the United States would go to war if a NATO ally were attacked--frequently impose political obligations that go beyond the stated limits of a treaty. De facto commitments exist in circumstances that make it unfeasible to refrain from action, such as in the event U.S. troops in West Germany were attacked. One of the major problems of U.S. alliance treaties is a lack of clarity, particularly with regard to the extent and duration of a commitment, the definition of that commitment, and the casus foederis. Most U.S. alliance treaties are geographically specific but fail to specify a time limitation. None makes clear the precise nature of the commitment, a function that treaties are ill-designed to fulfill and that would be better fulfilled by diplomatic notes, Presidential statements, and Senate resolutions. All are vague on the question of the casus foederis. Most pledge some form of action in the event of an attack on an ally or, in the case of SEATO, an attack construed to be Communist aggression. President Nixon has pledged aid in the event of an attack by the Soviet Union or China but not by other Communist countries, although the practice of all U.S. Presidents since World War II, including Nixon, has been exactly the opposite; for example, the United States has never opposed direct attacks by the Communist superpowers but has intervened to repel attacks by lesser Communist powers. The United States thus has no legal obligations but does have numerous political and military commitments to defend its allies. In Europe and Latin America the real intentions and commitments of the United States are clear, but U.S. alliances relating to Asia and the Pacific have aroused false expectations harmful to both the United States and its Asian allies. Whatever may be the best means of clarifying these commitments, it is essential to recognize that the problem is not a legal one, that forces much deeper than mere legalisms have caused U.S. involvement in world affairs.

1485
Gallagher, Hugh G. ADVISE AND OBSTRUCT; THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE IN FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS. New York, Delacorte Press [1969] 338 p.
KF4651.G3

Contents.--Foreword, by Philip A. Hart.--Preface.--The consecrated obstruction: the powers of the Senate, the motives of the Senators.--Agreeably to summons: the Senate ratifies the Jay Treaty, 1795.--Huzza, Huzza, Huzza, Huzza for war and Madison: the House of Representatives makes foreign policy, 1812.--Kill him, sir, kill him dead: the Senate rejects a nomination, 1831.--A little l'état c'est moi: the Senate loses a chairman, 1871.--Not really a roaring farce: the Senate ratifies Harding's pact, 1922.--Last call for lunch: the Senate approves lend-lease, 1941.--The baited trap: the Senate and Vietnam, 1954 and 1964.--Bibliography.--Index.

Delineates the Senate's real but elusive foreign policy powers and illustrates its use of these powers with specific examples from U.S. history.

1486
Garrett, Banning. THE VIETNAMIZATION OF LAOS. Ramparts, v. 8, June 1970: 36-45. illus.
AP2.R19, v. 8

History of postwar Laos focusing on the origins and growth of the Pathet Lao and U.S. economic and military support of anti-Pathet Lao forces. Garrett contends that the United States has resorted to the systematic depopulation of large areas of Laos in its efforts to suppress the revolution led by the Pathet Lao.

1487
Geltman, Max. THE CASE FOR THE PRIMACY OF ISRAEL. National review, v. 22, Apr. 21, 1970: 407-409.
AP2.N3545, v. 22

Attempts to dispel the idea that the United States has pursued a one-sided policy toward Israel. Geltman cites economic and military aid statistics and official statements to demonstrate that America's Near East policy has always been in favor of the Arab States and concludes that the United States should reaffirm the Eisenhower doctrine, which upholds the preservation of the integrity and independence of the area. Peace in the Near East "can only be assured by seeing to it that Israel's military superiority is maintained--as much for our vital interests of world peace as for Israel's."

1488
Goldstein, Walter. THE LESSONS OF THE VIETNAM WAR. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, Feb. 1970: 41-45. TK9145.A84, v. 26

Argues that conceptual, procedural, and technological "systemic" factors are responsible for America's errors in Southeast Asia and offers a "system strategy" to ensure that the same errors will not be made again. The goal of this strategy would be to bring about systemic change toward greater popular control over public policy.

1489
Goulden, Joseph C. TALKS WITH CHINA: THE MILITARY SABOTEURS. Nation, v. 210, Mar. 2, 1970: 231-233.
AP2.N2, v. 210

There is evidence that the U.S. military and intelligence services have obstructed the Warsaw talks between the United States and China. The publicity accorded by the Central Intelligence Agency to the defection of a low-ranking Chinese diplomat in January 1969 and the U.S. refusal, upon the insistence of the commander of U.S. forces on Taiwan, to cease its naval patrols in the Taiwan Strait led to cancellations of scheduled meetings with China. The naval patrols were greatly reduced later, but apparently only after the administration agreed to renew the previously cancelled pilotless reconnaissance flights over China. These flights were again halted in early January 1970 following a Peking overture for renewal of the talks, but an unpublicized Nationalist commando raid on the mainland and the downing of a U.S. reconnaissance plane over Hainan Island, both in mid-January, threaten still another cancellation of the talks. This sequence of events makes it questionable whether President Nixon or the U.S. military is deciding U.S. policy toward China.

1490
Hangen, Welles. THE RUSSIANS IN ASIA. Atlantic monthly, v. 225, May 1970: 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40-42. AP2.A8, v. 225

Reviews the expansion of Soviet naval power and trade relations in Asia and examines the responses of the major Asian nations to Brezhnev's call for a system of collective security. Hangen notes that Soviet initiatives coincide with U.S. and British withdrawal from the area but concludes that, insofar as the Soviet goal is increased trade and stability, the extension of Soviet influence may contribute to America's own policy objectives in Asia.

1491
Hanrieder, Wolfram F. WEST GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY: BACKGROUND TO CURRENT ISSUES. Orbis, v. 13, winter 1970: 1029-1049.
D839.068, v. 13

Article based on a forthcoming book, The Stable Crisis: Two Decades of German Foreign Policy.

Bonn's inhibitions and Moscow's unabated hostility had largely stymied the Grand Coalition's Eastern policy before the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, but since the invasion the obstacles to reconciliation with the Soviet bloc have become even more formidable. The events of August 1968 undermined assumptions central to Bonn's long-range unification strategy and created a new situation in which, according to Fritz Ermarth, the road to new East-West relationships in Europe now lies not through Prague, Budapest, or Bucharest, but Moscow. By underlining the importance of East Berlin for West Germany's unification efforts, the invasion showed that Bonn's previous hard-line policies had produced serious liabilities. The invasion strengthened the bond between Moscow and East Berlin, while Bonn's relations with Washington appeared strained. Differences over the nonproliferation treaty (NPT), in connection with the multilateral nuclear force debacle, hardly put to rest West German fears of a Soviet-American deal. Moreover, Bonn viewed the NPT as affecting opportunities to establish European security and arms control arrangements. The new Bonn government, committed to making renewed efforts to solve the German question, has set a goal of "confederation" rather than a reunification based on "self-determination." Fundamental to the "new" Ostpolitik are a realistic policy toward East Germany and such concrete steps toward further rapprochement with Eastern Europe as the proposed Polish-West German renunciation-of-force

agreement, and acceptance of the Oder-Neisse line. Bonn's signing of the NPT is a positive factor in Germany's relations with Moscow, but ratification may become geared to other issues, such as the effects on Germany's security of NATO's viability and of the superpower arms control talks, and the indirectly related question of the future of the European Economic Community. Should the Soviet-American talks lead to arms limitations for NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the prospect of a British proposal for nuclear sharing, which would provide an independent West European deterrent, might prove attractive to Britain's future Common Market partners. Because France is not eager to have Germany partake in nuclear decisionmaking, "an intricate bargaining relationship may develop between London, Paris and Bonn in which Britain's accession to the Common Market may be a crucial element." Such developments would have a direct impact on Bonn's security and Eastern policies and would add significance to the proposed European security conference.

1492
Hanson, Simon G. DOLLAR DIPLOMACY MODERN STYLE; CHAPTERS IN THE FAILURE OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS. Washington, Inter-American Affairs Press, 1970. 189 p. HC125.H336
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Introduction.--"Modern style."--"Modern style": private investment at public risk.--"Modern style": responsibility without authority.--"Modern style": bribed associates in a free society.--"Modern style": the economics of self pity.--After dollar diplomacy modern style: the prescriptions.

Criticizes the political and economic policies of the United States and Latin American governments with regard to the Alliance for Progress. Hanson contends that the United States has infringed on the sovereignty of recipient states, using economic aid to influence the course of domestic politics; that it has subordinated U.S. national interests to the interests of private American investors; and that U.S. aid policies have facilitated the domination of Latin American countries by small elites rather than encouraging badly needed programs of social reform.

1493
Hartley, Anthony. THE U.S., THE ARABS & ISRAEL. Commentary, v. 49, Mar. 1970: 45-50. DS101.C63, v. 49

Whereas President Johnson emphasized recognition of Israel's existence as a state, President Nixon is placing greater stress on Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and on restoring diplomatic relations with those Arab States that had severed them in 1967. The present U.S. Near East policy is being shaped by the "reaction to an apparently endless struggle in Vietnam [and] a consciousness of the urgency of domestic problems," which have combined to form a resistance in the public mind against any policy that might lead to new military commitments. The aim of this new "balanced" policy is to dissociate America from Israel to improve its image in the Arab world and ease the position of the "conservative" Arab regimes. However, a more realistic policy would be not to yield to Arab nationalist feeling to the extent of "conniving at the destruction of Israel." Support of the Jewish state would maintain stability, would ensure the existence in the area of at least one nation friendly to the United States and would be a less difficult commitment than that called for in the Eisenhower doctrine.

1494
Henry, Ernst. WHAT WILL BE CHINA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD? Daily review; translations from the Soviet press, v. 16, Apr. 23, 1970: pt. 2, [item] 3, 1-8. Slav Rm
Translated from Literaturnaia gazeta, no. 16, Apr. 15, 1970. Slav Rm

By replacing Marxism by Maoism, China stands to lose much if not everything. Obviously, China must build a Socialist economy, and "what is, perhaps, most urgent and obvious now, . . . go over to a foreign policy which will ensure China's socialist development and really turn her quickly into a strong and influential power." What can China expect from diplomatic duets sung with the imperialists for the ultimate purpose of stabbing the Soviet Union in the back? It is naive of the Chinese to think that the Washington hawks and the Bonn revanchists see China as anything other than a purveyor of cannon fodder! "Who is it then that surrounds China? The Soviet Union or the United States? Sometimes it is worth consulting one's geography book!" China cannot become an independent third force, because there is no place in the world arena any more for such a force. Neither the material nor the ideological potential of Maoism are sufficient to make China great. Past Chinese advances were made in direct cooperation with the world Communist community, first and foremost the Soviet Union. China's future depends upon a return to this cooperation.

1495
Herald, George W. POMPIDOU'S DELUSIONS OF POWER. New leader, v. 53, Mar. 16, 1970: 5-7. HX1.N37, v. 53

France's sale of airplanes to Libya was not intended as an anti-Israeli gesture and is explicable by the historic French preoccupation with north Africa. France, completely sincere in its desire for peace in the Near East, also feels itself best qualified to deal with the Russians in that area. However, insofar as the Near East crisis is actually an East-West clash of wills to whose perpetuation France is unwittingly contributing, Pompidou may find that he has maneuvered his country into an impossible position.

1496
Hertzman, Lewis, John W. Warnock, and Thomas A. Hockin. ALLIANCES AND ILLUSIONS; CANADA AND THE NATO-NORAD QUESTION. With an introduction by Dal-

ton K. Camp. Edmonton, M. G. Hurtig [1969] xxi, 154 p. F1029.H47
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--pt. 1. Canada and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, by Lewis Hertzman: Foreign policy review and the national debate. The Atlantic alliance. Scenario; Canada announces its new course of foreign policy.--pt. 2. Canada and North American defence, by John W. Warnock: The integration of North American defence. The role of the manned bomber in military strategy. NORAD's present role. The renewal of NORAD. The illusion of special partnership. Escalating the arms race. The choice facing Canada.--pt. 3. The foreign policy review and decision making in Canada, by Thomas A. Hockin: The search for moral opportunity. The domestic setting and Canadian voluntarism. The prelude to innovation. Innovation and the decision makers. Europe as a counterweight; end of an illusion?--Appendices.--Notes.--Notes on the authors.

Proposes alternatives to the traditional policies that have guided Canadian foreign policy. Hertzman advocates that Canada "strip away the harmful illusions of security and rightness that have grown around [its] participation in NATO and NORAD [North American Air Defense Command]" and discontinue its automatic support for the United States in that country's rivalry with the Soviet Union. He outlines the major elements in an independent policy, emphasizing moral commitment on a global scale, military nonalinement, and international peacekeeping. Warnock contends that Canada's participation in NATO and NORAD has held back the evolution of an independent Canada and the achievement of a national identity. Today, he notes, the world situation favors a Canadian withdrawal from these obsolete alliances, and Canada has a chance to reverse the tide of assimilation into the United States. Hockin examines the motivation behind Trudeau's gradual and phased reduction policy and concludes that Canada should withdraw from NATO if the alliance drains Canada's foreign resources against its will.

1497
Hilsman, Roger. THE THREAT OF COMMUNIST CHINA. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, June 1970: 3-13. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 50

Communist China is likely to remain ambitious in pursuing national objectives and hostile in its attitude toward the Soviet Union and the West, but its capabilities for direct and indirect military action outside immediately adjacent areas are small. China has neither the naval and air forces nor the nuclear capability for more than local power, and even when it acquires an ICBM capability Soviet and U.S. power "will remain vastly superior for as far ahead as it is useful for the mind to reach." China's intentions will be guided by realism and caution. It will not engage in military adventures merely for territorial expansion but more likely will use military force to accomplish political goals as it did in India in 1962. It is doubtful that Chinese efforts to spread "national liberation" wars will enjoy any significant success in the face of the new nationalism in Third World countries. Prospects for such efforts in Asia appear dim because of the weak status of Asian Communist Parties. However, China remains ambitious and will continue to pursue its goals "with the instruments at hand that avoid creating high risk--which means not military measure[s], but political."

1498
Hinterhoff, Eugène. THE TWILIGHT OF AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE FAR EAST. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 15, Feb./Mar. 1970: 13-17. illus. UA646.F5, v. 15

Traces America's current difficulties in the Far East to diplomatic blunders made at Yalta in 1945 and Manila in 1966 and speculates on the consequences of a partial U.S. withdrawal from the area. A regional defense system, composed of non-Communist Asian states and backed by the U.S. nuclear deterrent, might be able to fill the power vacuum created by a partial U.S. withdrawal.

1499
Hinton, Harold C. CHINA'S TURBULENT QUEST. [New York] Macmillan [1970] 340 p. DS740.4.H5
Bibliography: p. [322]-328.

Contents.--Preface.--The legacy of China's past.--Stalinism and armed struggle (1950-53).--The road to Bandung (1953-55).--The Challenge to Mao and his response (1956-58).--The struggle against Khrushchev (1959-64).--The foreign policy of the Cultural Revolution (1965-68).--The making of foreign policy.--Peking and world communism.--Peking and Asia.--Peking and the Third World.--Peking and the West.--The balance sheet and the outlook.--Postscript.--Suggestions for further reading.--Index.

Discusses traditional factors influencing Chinese policy today, Communist China's foreign policy, and current and projected trends in Chinese foreign policy. Hinton speculates that the Maoist component may be preserved for the sake of legitimacy, unity, and continuity, but it will not interfere with the mainstream of foreign policy, which will rely increasingly on state action rather than revolutionary militancy. Domestic considerations will be supremely important. China's position in Asia has pulled both Moscow and Washington deeper into that continent than seems prudent. Yet a precipitate American withdrawal would be destabilizing. Hinton feels the evolving triangular power relationship involving the United States, China, and the Soviet Union, the gradual trend toward multipolarity, and growing regionalism will be stabilizing factors. To demonstrate its good faith and to move away from untenable positions, the United States should open nonstrategic trade with China and stop actively opposing Peking's admission to the United Nations.

1500
Jeffries, William. TODAY'S CUBA AND U.S. POLICY. Christian century, v. 87, May 6, 1970: 560-563.
BR1.C45, v. 87

Cuban-U.S. relations continue to suffer as a consequence of the U.S. embargo on trade with Cuba, which has caused serious difficulties for the Cuban population without weakening the government. Cuba has expanded its trade with Europe, Canada, and Japan and would welcome a renewal of trade with the United States, although not at the price of compromising Cuban independence. Both Cuba and the United States would benefit from improved relations, but the initiative must come from the United States, which broke relations in 1961.

1501
Jones, Gareth S. THE SPECIFICITY OF US IMPERIALISM. New left review, no. 60, Mar./Apr. 1970: 59-66, 69-76, 79-83, 85-86.
HX3.N36, 1970

Historical review of U.S. imperialism. Jones argues that the American Revolution, far from being anticolonialist, only freed the United States to build its own empire independent of Britain. The initial thrust of American imperialism was preoccupied with the settlement of the West and the subjugation of the Indians and blacks; only after its position on the North American Continent had been secured did the United States seek outlets for overseas expansion. U.S. imperialism remained primarily economic until the collapse of its major imperialist rivals as a result of World War II impelled the United States to assume an active military role to maintain its global empire.

1502
Kallgren, Joyce K. THE THIRD PARTY IN CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS: THE NEED FOR CHANGE. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, May 1970: 11-16.
TK9145.A84, v. 26

Examines the implications of Taiwan's position as "third party" in efforts by the United States to improve its relations with Communist China. Changes in U.S. relations with either of the Chinese governments or in the relations of the latter with each other are certain to be slow. In the transition period, the United States should do what it can to reduce or eliminate sources of conflict among the three powers and "to make explicit the boundaries of commitments to Taiwan rather than to abdicate the initiative to the government on Taiwan or on the mainland."

1503
Kang, Pilwon. THE ROAD TO VICTORY IN VIETNAM. New York, Exposition Press [c1970] 78 p.
DS557.A63K32

Contents.--The road to victory.--How Johnson lost the propaganda war.--The right kind of propaganda.--Proposal to the President.--Proposal to the news media.--Turning the tide.

Examines America's Vietnam War effort under Presidents Johnson and Nixon, focusing on the underlying causes for U.S. failures. Kang criticizes the news media and some Government leaders for their dovish stands, attributing this to their victimization by Communist propaganda. He presents a plan to win the war and suggests an overall approach to U.S. foreign policy designed to be relevant after the war.

1504
Karol, K. S. [BREZHNEV BETWEEN NIXON AND MAO] Brejnev entre Nixon et Mao. Nouvel observateur, no. 289, May 31, 1970: 29-30.
AP20.02, 1970

Not a word of Mao Tse-tung's May 20 address was devoted to the Soviet Union, which Chairman Mao no longer considers a revolutionary force. The omission "comes at a time when the Chinese are not the only ones to consider that the Soviet Union was caught off balance completely by the evolution of events in Asia, and that it has no policy to oppose the Americans." On the other hand, when the Soviet press attacked the "neo-Hitlers" of Asia it was referring not to the Americans in Cambodia but to the Chinese, who, according to Pravda, "are aimlessly pushing national liberation movements in Asia and Africa." Although such contradictions in Soviet policy are always surprising, they are not new. After the Tonkin Gulf incident, Premier Khrushchev, who believed that the Chinese incited Hanoi, hardly protested U.S. attacks against North Vietnam. Moscow later believed that such an attitude was not in its interests as the leader of the world Communist movement and became tougher on Vietnam. The U.S.S.R. proposed a plan of common action to the Chinese, but the two powers, with such different views, could not coordinate their actions. Since then, both powers have been aiding North Vietnam and preaching their concepts of the struggle: the Russians a compromise, the Chinese a war of attrition. It appeared that a compromise would be worked out at the Paris talks, but this was an illusion. Although the Soviet Union continues to disapprove of a Chinese-led Asian Communist bloc and considers Asian revolutionaries as neo-Hitlers, it will have to furnish arms to the revolutionaries and support them verbally against the Americans. This is a paradox, but all Soviet foreign policy is paradoxical. Moscow wants peace, but it also wishes to remain the head of a spiritual family that uses violent methods in its struggle for change.

1505
Khachaturov, K. ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE LATIN AMERICAN POLICY OF THE USA. International affairs (Moscow) no. 6, June 1970: 50-56.
D839.I465, 1970

Anticommunism is the ideological core of U.S. imperialism and its instrument for molding public opinion in Latin America. The first target of anti-Communist propaganda is always "the vanguard of the revolutionary forces"--the Communist Party. As part of its anticommunism campaign, the United States propagates theories like Pan-Americanism or

"continental solidarity," which promote U.S. hegemony while pretending to honor the special characteristics of Latin America.

1506
Klare, Michael. THE GREAT SOUTH ASIAN WAR. Nation, v. 210, Mar. 9, 1970: 265-273. illus.
AP2.N2, v. 210

Examines U.S. foreign policy and military strategy in the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. Klare reviews the growth of U.S. economic investments and military commitments in these regions in the wake of French and British withdrawal. He contends that the basic goal of U.S. policy is "the 'Latin Americanization' of South Asia--i.e., the stabilization of Asia's dependent status vis-à-vis the United States, as a supplier of raw materials and market for manufactured goods." The United States plans to achieve this objective by creating client regimes utilizing indigenous counterinsurgency troops; establishing an "Anglo-Saxon Alliance" with Australia, New Zealand, and ultimately South Africa; and maintaining a "fire brigade" of counterinsurgency forces within the United States capable of rapid transport to crisis areas.

1507
Klein, Johannes Kurt. [THE MEANING OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC FOR THE SOVIET UNION] Die Bedeutung der DDR für die Sowjetunion. [Hannover] Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1969. 81 p. map. (Schriftenreihe der Neidersächischen Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, Gesamtdeutsche Probleme.)
DD261.4.K54
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Preface.--Introduction.--Principal section: The ideological significance of the German Democratic Republic (DDR) for the Soviet Union. The military significance of the DDR for the Soviet Union. The geopolitical significance of the DDR for the Soviet Union. The political conspiracy significance of the DDR for the Soviet Union. The psychological factors of the German-Soviet relationship.--Prospect for the future: Change and fixation of Soviet communism. The position of the fronts in the 21st century. Recognition of the reality of the DDR.

A Communist state on German soil exercises direct stablizing influences on Eastern Europe in the military, ideological, and political spheres. In addition it offers geopolitical advantages and provides a base for Communist subversion. While some psychological aspects of the German-Russian relationship are not wholly relished by Moscow, the continued existence of East Germany is necessary for the Soviet role as an all-European power. Its desire to relax tensions with Bonn is sincere, but Moscow will not pay the high price: German unification.

1508
Kozlov, S. BRITISH POLITICAL MANOEUVRING "EAST OF SUEZ." International affairs (Moscow) no. 2/3, Mar. 1970: 73-77. D839.I465, 1970

Great Britain is maneuvering to nullify the effect of its withdrawal East of Suez by intensified involvement in military blocs and continued maintenance of a chain of colonies and treaty bases. By adopting the role of chief purveyor of arms in this area, Britain hopes to consolidate its financial, economic, and military presence.

1509
Kudriavtsev, V. TWO SPEARHEADS OF AMERICAN AGGRESSION. International affairs (Moscow) no. 5, May 1970: 76-79. D839.I465, 1970

The Nixon doctrine is an attempt to achieve the old, familiar goals of American imperialism through the use of cat's-paws by Vietnamization and encouragement of Israeli aggression. In a contradiction typical of imperialism, the Americans are encouraging Japan to undertake the role of proxy Asian policeman, which will inevitably bring the two countries into conflict. "The great strategic and economic interests of the USA in the Middle East mean that, in helping Israel, it actually helps itself." As in the Paris talks on Vietnam, the United States at the United Nations is trying to achieve by diplomatic means what it has been unable to achieve militarily.

1510
LENINISM OR SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM? IN COMMEMORATION OF THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF THE GREAT LENIN. Peking review, v. 13, Apr. 24, 1970: 5-15.
DS701.P42, v. 13
"By the Editorial Departments of Renmin Ribao, Hongqi and Jiefangjun Bao."
Bibliographical references included in "Notes": p. 14-15.

Outlines Lenin's contributions to Communist ideology and practice and critically examines the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policies, attempting to prove that they are "the result of the usurpation of the political power of the proletariat by the Soviet bourgeoisie" and represent a betrayal of Leninism by the Soviet revisionist renegades. While the Soviet leadership talks glibly about its support for revolutionary struggles, it collaborates with the reactionary powers to undermine revolutionary wars. "Like U.S. imperialism, it is acting as a world gendarme." The Soviet Union's position on Germany, the Near East, Southeast Asia, Japan, and nuclear weapons "is evidence of its crimes in contending and colluding with U.S. imperialism" to redivide the world. Under Brezhnev, the Soviet Union has employed nuclear blackmail against China, energetically developed nuclear weapons, redoubled its efforts to expand conventional armaments, increased military expenditures, stepped up mobilization and war preparations, and threatened to "unleash a blitzkrieg of the Hitler type." "'Brezhnevism' is imperialism with a 'socialist label,' it is outright hegemonism, naked neo-colonialism."

1511
Luchsinger, Fred. PAYMENT IN ADVANCE [editorial] Swiss review of world affairs, v. 20, May 1970: 2-3. D839.S9, v. 20

In 1946 George Kennan warned against payment in advance--"the unilateral concession intended to prove one's own good intentions or harmlessness in the hope that the other side will reciprocate"--in future Soviet-American relations, noting that well-intentioned U.S. concessions upset Soviet calculations and make the Russians believe that they have erred by not demanding even greater concessions. This advice does not appear to guide American foreign policy, judging from the unsuccessful U.S. attempt to effect a reduction in Soviet arms by unilaterally limiting its military expenditures and its attempt to persuade Moscow to slacken its nuclear tests by setting a good example. Today a vociferous opinion group is demanding that the United States unilaterally renounce ABM deployment and the manufacture of multiple independent reentry vehicles. Yet a new arms race can be prevented only through an exchange of equivalent renunciation, for unilateral renunciation implies a level of confidence in the Soviet Union that is politically unfounded. In other areas, unilateral reductions in NATO troops would destroy the foundations of any negotiations on mutual troop reductions. America's phased withdrawal from Vietnam and West Germany's "Ostpolitik" are also based on the principle of payment in advance. The Soviet Union has valued these concessions but has not repaid them in kind. Despite Moscow's internal problems and its huge burden in the Far East, it is continuing to advance into the Western buffer zone.

1512
Marmulaku, Ramadan. ALBANIA TODAY. Review of international affairs, v. 21, May 5, 1970: 9-10. D839.R4, v. 21

While Albania is relatively closed and controlled both as a society and a state, similar conditions can be found in larger countries. Yugoslavians are aware that Albania is relying on its own forces in promoting its socioeconomic development and foreign policy. Socialist Yugoslavia is ready to cooperate with all countries that adhere to the principles of independence and integrity. Under the existing pressures from the blocs and superpowers, the understanding between the two neighbors of the inviolability of their frontiers grows in importance.

1513
Morgenthau, Hans J. EVASIVE AMBIGUITY: MR. NIXON'S FOREIGN POLICY. New republic, v. 162, Mar. 21, 1970: 23-25. AP2.N624, v. 162

Criticizes President Nixon's foreign policy report to Congress for its "excessive vagueness," "evasive ambiguity," and "blandness." However, the ideological polemic that set the tone of America's foreign policy in the 1960's has virtually disappeared from the report, and the statement on the Middle East situation and arms control and disarmament are precise and cogent. The discussion of Latin America is trivial, that of Vietnam ignores several important questions regarding future policies, and there is no mention of the multiple independent reentry vehicle, Laos, or the potential for change inherent in West Germany's Ostpolitik.

1514
Morgenthau, Hans J. A NEW FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES. New York, Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by F. A. Praeger [1969] 252 p. E840.M593
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Preface.--A new foreign policy for the United States: the basic issues.--The United States: paramount or equal?--The foreign policy of communism.--The United States and the developing world.--To intervene or not to intervene.--The United States and Europe.--The United States and China.--Nuclear power and foreign policy.--The seven principles of American foreign policy.--Index.

Examines the purposes and principles of U.S. foreign policy and the assumptions on which they have been based; reviews the central issues confronting policymakers in America's relations with its allies, the Communist nations, and the Third World; and urges the United States to readjust its policy to reflect today's problems. Among seven general principles Morgenthau lists to guide American foreign policy are that: the primary interest of the United States is the security of its territory and institutions; nuclear weapons are not the instruments of national power and "only provide assurance that national interests can be supported with the conventional diplomatic and military methods"; the ideological contest between the superpowers will ultimately be decided "by the visible virtues and vices of their respective political, economic, and social systems"; and a new American foreign policy, aware of the threat to world peace, must pay special attention to the unused peacemaking potential of the United Nations.

1515
Muhlen, Norbert. WILLY BRANDT TURNS EAST. National review, v. 22, June 30, 1970: 676-677. AP2.N3545, v. 22

Unless the NATO allies and the West Germans themselves block Bonn's Ostpolitik, "Willy Brandt could be preparing the way for the destruction of the Western defenses in Europe and the Soviet penetration of the European West." Bonn propagandists have given assurances that Brandt, like Nixon, is only trying to replace confrontation with negotiation. The comparison is spurious because Brandt does not have the power "to negotiate on a tit-for-tat basis," and so far he has only offered to yield his bargaining assets and make some concessions. Brandt's Ostpolitik is erasing the line between the free world and the Communist regimes and is encouraging the view that the superpowers differ only slightly.

1516
Murthy, P. A. Narasimha. REVERSION OF OKINAWA AND JAPAN'S FUTURE DEFENCE POSTURE. China report, v. 6, Jan./Feb. 1970: 17-22.
DS777.55.C4484, v. 6

Discusses the political and military implications of the recent U.S. decision on Okinawa, noting the impact on Japanese- and Sino-American relations and Japan's future military policies. Murthy concludes that Japan will not radically alter its present defense posture. "She will continue to remain under the U.S. nuclear umbrella but will make serious efforts to build up enough defence power to meet a conventional attack." Although there is no popular support for a constitutional amendment that would legalize the self-defense forces, this attitude could change if existing political alinements were dissolved. Japan, while not sacrificing its nonnuclear formula, has insisted that guarantees be incorporated into the nuclear nonproliferation treaty that would permit nonnuclear powers to develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

1517
Nasser, Gamal A., Pres. United Arab Republic. A CALL TO WAR OR AN APPEAL FOR PEACE? THE FULL TEXT OF PRESIDENT NASSER'S MAY DAY SPEECH. New Middle East, no. 21, June 1970: 22-29. illus.
DS63.1.N48, 1970

Reviews the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict; charges that the 1948, 1956, and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars were initiated by Israel as steps in a long-term plan to establish Israel's borders from the Nile to the Euphrates, intimidating or expelling the Arab populations of areas progressively occupied by Israel; makes negotiations with Israel conditional upon Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied during the 1967 war and Israeli recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people; condemns U.S. military aid to Israel, which contributes not to a true balance of power in the Middle East but to Israeli military superiority; defends Soviet aid to Egypt, which, in contrast to U.S. aid to Israel, has been essentially defensive in nature; and warns President Nixon that U.S.-Arab relations have reached a decisive turning point, that further U.S. aid to Israel will be interpreted by all Arabs as an indication of U.S. support for Israeli expansionism.

1518
Neal, Fred Warner. GOVERNMENT BY MYTH. Center magazine, v. 2, Nov./Dec. 1969: 2-7.
Ser

Argues that postwar U.S. foreign policy has been based on serious misconceptions about the United States and the world at large and that liberal intellectuals, particularly behavioral scientists, can be assigned a large share of the blame for this. The best hope that these misconceptions will be detected lies with the student protests against the Vietnam War, which, it is hoped, will provoke a fundamental and general reassessment and orientation of U.S. foreign policy.

1519
North, Robert C. THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF CHINA. Belmont, Calif., Dickenson Pub. Co. [1969] 156 p. (Comparative foreign relations series)
DS740.4.N58
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Foreword.--Preface.--Introduction.--pt. 1. Explaining Chinese Communist foreign policy: Basic Chinese Communist capabilities and development programs. Military capabilities of the People's Republic of China. Tradition and consciousness; historic and novel objectives and principles.--pt. 2. Describing and projecting Chinese Communist foreign policy: Overview; relations with the United States and Asia. Chinese Communist relations with the Soviet Union. Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the world revolution. Anticipating the future of Chinese policy. Index.

With the assumption that foreign policy is determined by numerous considerations, identifies economic and military capabilities, world view, political culture and institutions, and internal political factions as the critical factors and shows how they interact to shape Communist China's international activities. The author discusses how and to what extent China has applied economic development strategies and alliance commitments to increase its basic capabilities, international influence, and power. China's operational foreign policy strategies are outlined, and the internal and external problems affecting future Chinese Communist foreign policies are summarized capability, tradition, and conscious choice arising from dissatisfaction are still so strong that certain aspects of Chinese policy and behavior would be very likely to continue even if the leadership should substantially change and if specific aspects of the political culture--the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology and style--were to be replaced by something else."

1520
Ojha, Ishwer C. CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY IN AN AGE OF TRANSITION: THE DIPLOMACY OF CULTURAL DESPAIR. Boston, Beacon Press [1969] xiv, 234 p.
DS740.4.036
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Preface.--Historical sources of China's conduct.--The nationalism of cultural despair.--China and the Western world order.--Sino-American misperceptions.--Sino-Soviet antagonisms.--China's search for national boundaries.--China, the Third World, and the politics of weakness.--Conclusions.--Index.

Examines Communist Chinese foreign policy in the context of China's response to the challenge of the West. Ojha stresses China's insistence on being treated as an equal, particularly in its relations with the United States and the Soviet Union. He assesses China's efforts to settle its boundary disputes with Burma, India, and the Soviet Union in accordance with this principle and reviews China's policies toward the Third World.

1521
PEIPING'S REPROACH OF U.S.-JAPANESE TALKS [by] C. S. S. Issues & studies, v. 6, Jan. 1970: 4-8.
Ser

During the U.S.-Japan negotiations in November 1969, President Nixon and Premier Sato agreed to extend the bilateral defense treaty. The United States reassured Japan that it will respect its treaty obligations to the Republic of China, while Sato stressed that the security of Taiwan and Korea is essential to Japan. Communist China has always supported Japan's claim to the Ryukyu Islands; however, following the Nixon-Sato talks, Peking reversed its position and denounced the agreement on reversion as a "big fraud." The author concludes that although the Chinese Communists are "very uneasy" over the U.S.-Japan agreements, and although their verbal attacks will continue, they will not suspend trade or "civilian" relations with Japan.

1522
Pentland, Charles. MANDARINS AND MANICHEANS: THE "INDEPENDENCE" DEBATE ON CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY. Queen's quarterly, v. 77, spring 1970: 99-103.
AP5.Q3, v. 77

The debate over Canadian foreign policy is being presented "as a contest of grand alternatives" between those advocating "independence" and those wishing to preserve the traditional "quiet diplomacy." Used as a piece of ambiguous rhetoric, the concept of independence does not provide criteria for judging current policies or a fixed principle from which to deduce desirable ones. Unfortunately, it polarizes the debate, causing arguments to dwell less on substantive issues than on questions of style and status. Canadians ought to question whether this preoccupation with style and the polarization of positions will "tell [them] very much about the real world where decisions have to be made."

1523
Pomeroy, William J. AMERICAN NEO-COLONIALISM; ITS EMERGENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES AND ASIA. New York, International Publishers [1970] 255 p.
DS685.P63

Contents.--Introduction.--Impetus to empire: the disputed issue of 1898.--The Philippine dilemma: colony or coaling station?--Americans and Filipinos: attraction or subjugation?--Conquest of a colony.--The anti-imperialist movement, 1898-1900.--Colonial policy: conflict or curtailment? --Frustration in Asia: open door to holding action.--Problems of Philippine trade and investment.--Amending colonialism.--Balance sheet.--Reference notes.--Bibliography.--Index.

History of U.S. colonial policy in the Philippines. Pomeroy reviews the debate in the United States occasioned by the acquisition and subjugation of the Philippines and traces the evolution of a policy of neocolonialism by which he maintains the United States has retained effective control of its interests in the Philippines while renouncing the burden of outright ownership.

1524
Possony, Stefan T. CONFRONTATION IN MANCHURIA. In American Security Council. Washington report, Feb. 9, 1970: 1-4.
Ser Rm

The Soviet Union cannot effectively defend its eastern territories without a strong population and economic base in the Far East. "Only Manchuria satisfies those requirements, and only from Manchuria can the USSR's Pacific possessions be built up effectively." To counter the growing Chinese and Japanese threats, current Soviet strategy is directed toward seizing Manchuria; the Soviet goal is the dismemberment of China, not outright occupation or replacement of the Maoist government. The Soviet Union may also attempt to seize China's northwestern territories--Sinkiang, Tsinghai, Kansu, Ninghsia, and Inner Mongolia--whose ethnic diversity makes separation from Peking's control entirely feasible. The risks of attacking or not attacking are both very great, and the Soviet Union is pressed to make a decision before Chinese missiles become operational. The United States need not involve itself in any conflict over Manchuria unless the security of South Korea, Japan, or Taiwan is threatened. "Nevertheless, it is a primary U.S. interest that Manchuria not fall under Soviet domination."

1525
PROSPECTS FOR LATIN AMERICA. David S. Smith, editor. New York, Columbia University [1970] 384 p. (The International Fellows Program policy series)
F1418.P897

Sixteen essays from a series of seminars held in 1969 by the International Fellows Program of Columbia University, and discussion papers prepared for study groups at the Center for Inter-American Relations in New York City.
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Preface, by David S. Smith.--United States military assistance to Latin America, by Peter F. Krogh.--Soviet policy in Latin America, by Herbert S. Dinerstein.--Military influence in Latin America, by Jeffrey Alan Wheeler. --The United States and Latin American modernization: the Frei administration in Chile, by Colin I. Bradford, Jr.--United States-Cuban relations, by Richard R. Fagen.--United States-Cuban relations: commentary and dissent on working papers, by Henry W. Balgooyen.--U.S. policy on Haiti, by Elizabeth Frawley.--The Panama Canal policy of the United States, by Duncan H. Cameron.--Appendix A: Twenty-one general and seventy specific recommendations, by Nelson A. Rockefeller, U.S. Presidential Mission for the Western Hemisphere.--Appendix B: Action for progress in the Americas, by Richard M. Nixon.

Estimates future problems in Latin American development, focusing on institutions, external pressures and influence that affect development,

and U.S. policy. Krogh appraises U.S. military aid programs, the concern over current policy and changing security considerations, and the rationale for military assistance, and makes recommendations on policy objectives; Dinerstein surveys Soviet policies and evaluates their impact on American policy options; Wheeler reviews the role of the military in political development; Bradford considers the political impact of U.S. aid programs in Chile; Fagen recommends changes in American policy toward Cuba; Balgooyen offers a dissenting commentary on Fagen's recommendations; and Frawley and Cameron propose new U.S. approaches to Haiti and the Panama Canal.

1526
Riklin, Alois. [GUESSES ABOUT SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY] Mutmassungen über die sowjetische Aussenpolitik. Schweizer Rundschau, v. 69, Jan./Feb. 1970: 2-15. map. AP32.S5, v. 69

Draws up a set of indicators for ascertaining the degree to which Soviet foreign policy is imperialistic or status-quo minded and concludes that Soviet concern for the status quo is growing. Riklin considers ideology the least important indicator and the Chinese threat the most important. Comparison of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the military postures of NATO and examination of the change of Soviet strategy from a regional to a global scope indicate the Soviet emphasis on the maintenance of the status quo. The uncertainty of Sino-Soviet relations forces Moscow to conduct an increasingly cautious policy toward the West.

1527
RUSSIA'S NEW ROLE IN ASIA [by] S. S. China report, v. 6, Jan./Feb. 1970: 30-35.
DS777.55.C4484, v. 6

Outlines the new Soviet strategy in Asia and assesses the Indian, Australian, and Japanese reactions to Brezhnev's Asian collective security proposal. "If the Chinese threat is considered real by the countries of this region, they may have no alternative to accepting Soviet power as a counter-weight to China in view of America's disengagement from Asia." Russia has gained some regional support for the scheme and is emerging as a powerful force in the Indian Ocean.

1528
Rzhevskii, E. EUROPEAN SECURITY AND THE STABILITY OF FRONTIERS. International affairs (Moscow) no. 5, May 1970: 80-84.
D839.I465, 1970

Because of massive pressure from rightwing elements, the Brandt government seems hesitant to make the changes in German foreign policy required by political realities. Unbridled nationalist demagoguery continues to dispute the Potsdam territorial decisions and deny the existence of a state frontier between the Federal Republic and East Germany. The frontiers of Europe today are fixed and are not a subject for discussion under the pretext of promoting European security.

1529
Sanders, Sol W. THE ARC OF FREE ASIA; A LOOK INTO THE 1970S AT U.S. PROBLEMS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. [New York, American-Asian Educational Exchange, c1969] 65 p. DS33.S25
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--No escape from commitment.--Asian scene, 1969.--The U.S. role.--An American program.

Discusses the economic situation in Asia and focuses on existing aid programs and future alternatives, emphasizing Japan's potential political, economic, and military role. While the United States is unavoidably committed in Asia in the 1970's and beyond and is uniquely equipped to lead the revolution in Asian development, "a total reorganization of the whole bureaucracy administering American foreign policy in Asia is necessary."

1530
Schoenthal, Klaus. BONN-WASHINGTON: THE MATURING ALLIANCE. Aussenpolitik; German foreign affairs review, v. 21, no. 1, 1970: 42-52.
Ser
English-language version of an article in the April 1970 issue of Aussenpolitik.
D839.A885, v. 21

The respective changes of government in the United States and in the Federal Republic in 1969 went their course, seen from the standpoint of domestic politics, in more or less opposing directions. Nevertheless, the continuity of friendly relations and of partnership between the two countries has been guaranteed in all spheres. The author recounts the development of German-American relations since the end of the Second World War and defines the present status as being one of a maturing alliance. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1531
Schweisfurth, Theodor. [THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL] BRD und DDR auf internationaler Ebene. Aussenpolitik, v. 21, May 1970: 265-283.
D839.A885, v. 21

Suggests that the search for a modus vivendi between the two Germanys be directed toward normalizing the relationships of these two states with other states and with the international organizations. The East Germans, in particular, disdain to talk of a "special relationship" with Bonn, but are extremely eager to regularize their international position. Schweisfurth proposes a comprehensive arrangement for both countries: autonomy in foreign policy and complete recognition by other states, individual representation in the United Nations, and joint representation in the technical or economic supranational organizations, on condition of practical amelioration of the mechanisms of day-to-day living between the two neighbors.

1532
Sethi, J. D. INDIA IN THE CORPUS OF MIDDLE POWERS. Indian and foreign review, v. 7, Nov. 15, 1969: 9-10, 13. D839.I453, v. 7

The middle powers must develop a common strategy and act in concert to ensure world stability and acquire an influence in keeping with their strength. They have no outstanding disputes, and their world view is more or less the same. Each middle power must of course continue to seek an independent foreign policy, self-reliance in defense, and technological excellence; but "acting individually, their political output, i.e. influence, status and position, will be far short of their input as it has been in the past." Together the middle powers can bring about a balanced redistribution of world power, provide checks against superpower irresponsibility, blunt the ideological conflict, and pressure the superpowers to link nuclear nonproliferation measures with the superpowers' own disarmament. The superpowers will object to middle-power regional alliances, but they do not have the coordination to act together against a middle power corpus. Although the Soviet Union or the United States can temporarily block some alliances, neither can "block or swallow all of them." Unless the middle powers build new regional alliances "they run the risk of isolationism or of return again to reliance on super powers."

1533
Shanor, Donald R. HANDS ACROSS THE ODER-NEISSE. New leader, v. 53, Mar. 16, 1970: 13-14. HX1.N37, v. 53

Sees the warming up of Polish-West German relations as a reaction to the Moscow-Bonn rapprochement and East Germany's refusal to share its advanced science and technology with the other members of the Communist economic community. While insisting on retention of the Oder-Neisse lands, Warsaw fears that a totally negative German policy might lead to Polish isolation.

1534
Smith, David S. THE NEXT ASIA; PROBLEMS FOR U.S. POLICY. David S. Smith: editor. New York, Columbia University [1969] 316 p. maps. (The International Fellows Program policy series) DS33.4.U6S6

Ten essays from a series of seminars held in 1967-68 by the International Fellows Program of Columbia University.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface, by David S. Smith.--The complex determinants of Japan's role in Asia, by Edwin A. Wiggers, Jr.--The Japan Socialist Party's attitude towards the People's Republic of China, by Brewster J. Grace.--India's nuclear posture and American policy in Asia, by Rodney Jones.--Cultural relations with a changing India, by Donald S. Birn.--Crosswinds over the rimland, by David Diaz.--The mouths of Chinese guns, by Michael Pillsbury.--Force and diplomacy on the Sino-Burmese border, by Frederick C. Teiwes.--Chinese foreign policy toward Burma and Cambodia: challenge to American policy, by Robert Holmes.--The Sino-Soviet border dispute, by Daniel C. Goldfarb.--Towards a dynamic Asian regionalism, by David S. Smith.

Discusses the political, economic, cultural, and military problems that will confront the United States and the Asian nations in the next decade. Wiggers summarizes Japan's foreign policy and economic prospects and Grace presents a case study of the factional alinements of the Japanese Socialists. Jones examines the implications in the possible development of nuclear weapons by India, while Birn describes the difficulties of U.S.-sponsored cultural efforts there. The theoretical implications of spheres of influence in Sino-American relations are considered by Diaz, the significance of military-force levels in and around China, by Pillsbury, and the politicomilitary aspects of the Sino-Burmese border settlement, by Teiwes. Holmes reviews Burma's and Cambodia's relations with China and the United States, while Goldfarb traces the events of the Sino-Soviet border dispute, and Smith analyzes the prospects for Asian cooperation and regionalism.

1535
Stupak, Ronald J. THE SHAPING OF FOREIGN POLICY; THE ROLE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE AS SEEN BY DEAN ACHESON. [New York] Odyssey Press [1969] xxvii, 132 p. E748.A15S8
Bibliography: p. 119-130.

Contents.--Foreword, by James A. Robinson.--Introduction.--The foreign-policy process in the United States since World War II.--A policy-making pattern: Dean Acheson as Secretary of State.--Acheson's perceptions of international relations.--The Secretary of State as department head.--The relations of the Secretary of State with the President and the executive agencies.--The Secretary of State and the conduct of foreign policy in a democracy.--Conclusions.--Index.

"An attempt to construct an operational code for the Secretary of State in the American foreign-policy decision-making process after World War II, formulated from the perspective of a particular occupant of that office, Dean G. Acheson." The perspective on foreign policy held by the ex-Secretary of State is studied by means of the examination of his expectations for his country's future and the future of the international community, his identifications with various interests, institutions, and ideas, both personally and as Secretary, and the demands he made in the Nation's behalf. His strategies, that is, the manner in which he used his available resources in such areas as Presidential policymaking and public opinion, are explicitly commented on.

1536
Tomašević, Stana. A LONG-TERM POLICY: THE MEANING AND AIMS OF JOINT ACTIVITY BY NONALIGNED COUNTRIES. Review of international affairs, v. 21, May 5, 1970: 1-4. D839.R4, v. 21

Answers questions about the development of nonalinement policy during the interval between the preparatory meeting in Dar-Es-Salaam and the Lusaka conference. Tomašević rejects as unnecessary the need for unaimity of opinion among the nonalined countries, supports the full participation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam in all the discussions of the conference, and calls for expansion of the activity of the nonalined countries beyond the political sphere.

1537
Ukrainstev, M. ASIA AND THE PEKING EMPIRE-BUILDERS. New times, no. 23, June 9, 1970: 14-15.
D839.N483, 1970

The eulogies of historic Chinese conquerors that regularly appear in the Chinese press are part of the effort to revive the concept of Sinocentrism. The Maoists aspire to territorial expansion as well as ideological leadership. To bring South and Southeast Asia under their domination, they are creating an atmosphere of permanent internal conflict. Those elements of the Communist and national liberation forces that accept Peking's aid are dooming themselves to defeat. Even those who wish to cooperate with the Chinese are frightened by evidence "that China is being turned into an armed camp, that a war psychosis is being whipped up there."

1538
U.S. Congress. House. Special Study Mission to East and Southeast Asia. REPORT OF THE SPECIAL STUDY MISSION TO EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. Comprising Edward R. Roybal [and others] of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, pursuant to the provisions of H. Res. 179, 90th Congress. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969. 29 p.
DS518.1.U565

At head of title: 91st Congress, 1st session. Committee print.

Contents.--Foreword.--Letter of transmittal.--Introduction.--Japan.--Okinawa.--Korea.--China.--Singapore.--Malaysia.--Indonesia.--Australia.--American Samoa.--Conclusions.

A firsthand assessment of East and Southeast Asia within the framework of "pending developments in Vietnam, the shifting interests of outside powers, and a new administration at home." The report concludes with a survey of economic and political development, emphasizing the significance of U.S. military aid to South Korea, the difficulties involved in achieving regional defense arrangements, and the possible consequences of a reduced U.S. role in the Pacific.

1539
Van Ness, Peter. REVOLUTION AND CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY; PEKING'S SUPPORT FOR WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970. 266 p.
DS740.4.V34 1970

Contents.--Acknowledgments.--Abbreviations.--Introduction: Chinese foreign policy, 1949-1969.--pt. 1. Revolution in theory; the ideology of the national liberation struggle: Peking's view of the world. Facing the enemy. China's program for revolution.--pt. 2. Revolution in practice; Chinese support for wars of national liberation, 1965: Endorsement of revolutions. Relations with revolutionary movements. Selection of targets for revolution. Support of wars of national liberation.--pt. 3. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Chinese foreign policy. The cultural revolution.--Conclusion.--Bibliographical note.--Index.

Discusses Mao Tse-tung's postrevolutionary theoretical innovations concerning foreign revolutionary movements and the use of revolution as an instrument of Chinese foreign policy toward the Third World during the middle 1960's. Van Ness distinguishes between three levels of foreign policy--official, semiofficial, and Communist Party--noting that they do not operate exclusively of one another, nor without central coordination. During the cultural revolution the Maoist leadership isolated itself from the rest of the international community, and the chaos that characterized many aspects of Chinese foreign policy was the result of these domestic divisions of power and conflicting policies rather than of conscious efforts to radicalize foreign policy.

1540
Venter, A. J. TANZANIA--CHINA'S BRIDGEHEAD IN AFRICA. International defense review, v. 3, Mar. 1970: 88-90. illus.
Ser

Survey of Chinese Communist subversive activity in tropical Africa. In Tanzania, the Chinese are carefully avoiding involvement in local political disputes, a mistake they made too often in the past, and this cautious approach is paying handsome dividends in increased influence with the local population and the Tanzanian Government.

1541
Voigt, Johannes H. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SPD/FDP COALITION GOVERNMENT IN WEST GERMANY. Australian outlook, v. 24, Apr. 1970: 61-69.
DU80.A947, v. 24

A survey of West German foreign policy during the Brandt coalition government's first six months in office. Brandt's aim is "to come to terms with West Germany's eastern neighbors and the Soviet Union in order to close wounds which have handicapped the policy of the Federal Republic . . . and kept this political giant (an over-statement) a political dwarf (an under-statement)." The ruling coalition's parliamentary majority is small, and failure abroad could have serious domestic repercussions. Even now nationalist tendencies are drawing sustenance from the relegation of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union to an opposition role.

1542
Vukadinović, Radovan. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN LIGHT OF NIXON'S DOCTRINE. Review of international affairs, v. 21, Apr. 20, 1970: 28-30.
D839.R4, v. 21

The Presidential report to Congress on international affairs was chiefly centered on the definition of the dimensions of American global commitments. The call for upgrading the status and strength of the West European allies apparently was influenced by Kissinger's view on the asymmetry of NATO relationships, which will probably be further implemented. The sections devoted to the Socialist countries stressed the common interest in nuclear disarmament and the strategic arms limitation talks. However, in talking of the East European countries, "Nixon did not take advantage of this opportunity to refer to the so-called theory of limited sovereignty, nor did the message mention any steps the American administration might take in relation to that part of the world."

1543
Watt, Alan. THE ANZUS TREATY: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE. Australian outlook, v. 24, Apr. 1970: 17-36. DU80.A947, v. 24

The history, terms, practical operation, and current worth of the Security Treaty Between the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand. In light of the recent changes in U.S. policy toward Asia and the Pacific, the possibility that U.S. performance under the Security Treaty will fall short of Australian expectations cannot be denied. Nevertheless, it must be assumed that a practical demonstration of willingness to shoulder a fair share of the regional security burden is more likely to secure U.S. support in time of need than a policy of avoiding all commitments or risks.

1544
Weeks, Albert L. THE OTHER SIDE OF COEXISTENCE; AN ANALYSIS OF RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY. New York, Pitman Pub. Corp. [1970] 304 p.
DK266.W38 1970

Contents.--Divergence: Grounds for divergence. Early Soviet expansion.--Convergence: Grounds for convergence. Russian-American economic cooperation. Anti-convergence ideology.--The bipolar standoff: Khrushchev's big-bang diplomacy. New beginnings after Khrushchev. U.S.-Soviet "limited coexistence" since Khrushchev. The shape of the seventies.--Epilogue.--Bibliography.--Index.

Examines Russian foreign policy and the crucial factors that determine the course of foreign policy: national security, leadership, economics, and ideology. The Soviet line toward the United States is becoming more moderate, but whether this is an illusory change remains to be seen. A militant Communist China and the influence exerted by other Communist leaders on the Kremlin officials in private discussions are the factors in this possible change.

1545
Weiss, Thomas J. TAIWAN AND U.S. POLICY. Orbis, v. 12, winter 1969: 1165-1187.
D839.068, v. 12

Discusses the social and political conditions, the international status, and foreign policy of the Republic of China and explores the implications and limitations of various policy options available to the United States regarding Taiwan. Weiss finds no evidence of a strong Taiwanese nationalist movement despite fundamental political and social differences between native Taiwanese and mainlanders, which he attributes to political apathy on the part of the Taiwanese and successful suppression of the Taiwanese nationalist movements by the mainlander-dominated government. He examines four possible U.S. policies toward Taiwan: a one-China policy recognizing the present Taipei government as the government of all China; a two-China policy recognizing the present Peking and Taipei governments as the governments of the mainland and of Taiwan; a one-China, one-Taiwan policy recognizing the present Peking government on the mainland and establishing a representative government on Taiwan; and a one-China policy recognizing the authority of the Peking government over the mainland and Taiwan. He expresses a preference for the third alternative as a long-term goal but points to numerous difficulties in implementing this policy in present circumstances. He laments the failure of the United States to take advantage of Peking's recent diplomatic ineptness and warns that a less radical Peking government may be more difficult to deal with on the issue of Taiwan.

1546
Whitworth, William. SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WAR. New Yorker, July 4, 1970: 30-46, 48-56.
AP2.N6763, 1970

A conversation with Eugene V. Rostow exploring "the geopolitical thinking behind the [Vietnam] war--the realm of foreign-policy premises so fundamental in our national life that they are shared by supporters of the war and many of its opponents, and thus are seldom discussed." According to Rostow, the major premise of U.S. policy in Vietnam, as, indeed, of postwar U.S. foreign policy in general, is that the balance of power, whether in Europe or Asia, is the key to peace and security. Whitworth challenges the validity of this thesis, notes his dissatisfaction with certain of Rostow's responses, and calls the outcome of their conversation "inconclusive."

1547
Williams, Benjamin H. THE UNITED STATES IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. Meerut, Sadhna Prakashan [1969] 253 p.
E744.W554
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--pt. 1. Military expansion and decline of national security: The effects of military power. The brink which we approach.--pt. 2. Evolution from weakness to strength: America's early days. The social and economic transformation. Military strength, an offshoot

of social strength. The movement out of isolation.--pt. 3. Some economic aspects of the outward thrust: Economic aid, a gentler aspect of power politics. Financial limitations.--pt. 4. The egotism of states and its role in American policies: Ethnocentrism. Self-righteousness, a fiction that serves national ambition. The conversion of ideology to the aim of power politics. --pt. 5. Regional policies: The United States and Europe. Latin American policies of the United States. The Far East. The Near East.--pt. 6. Nuclear-age statesmanship: Greater rationality in decision-making.

1548
Windmiller, Marshall. VIETNAM AND THE CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE. Review of international affairs, v. 21, Apr. 20, 1970: 26-27.
D839.R4, v. 21

The American quest for a "Korean" solution in Vietnam, that is, a permanently divided country, is part of a large design in which Japan is the most important element. Ironically, the United States now appears to be encouraging Japan to resume the policy against which it went to war. The instruments of this newly resurrected policy are primarily economic, like the Asian Development Bank, and a focal point is the lower Mekong Valley. The overall plan probably calls for Japan to dominate the economics of Southeast Asia while the United States takes over the economy of Japan itself. However, it is questionable whether the Thieu regime can ever be stabilized or that the dynamic Japanese will accept the junior-partner role.

1549
Wu, Yuan-li and H. C. Ling. AS PEKING SEES US; "PEOPLE'S WAR" IN THE UNITED STATES AND COMMUNIST CHINA'S AMERICA POLICY. Stanford, Calif., Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University [1969] 98 p. illus. (Hoover Institution studies, 25)
E183.8.C5W8
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--Peking's America policy and its strategic framework.--A documentary analysis of the evolution of Communist China's perception of the United States.--The dialogue: stimulus and response.--Implications for Peking's policy.--Some implications for the United States.--Notes.--Annex.

Attempts to interpret Peking's perception of internal unrest and disorder in the United States and to analyze the effect of this perception on Communist China's U.S. policy. Primary attention is given to Negro extremists. Wu and Ling suggest that China may have concluded that American military power can be negated by the development of a Chinese nuclear deterrent and a "war of national liberation" within the U.S.

1550
Zorza, Victor. IN HANOI, THE DOVES HAVE BEATEN THE HAWKS. Atlas, v. 19, June 1970: 15-16, 18-20. illus.
AP1.A83, v. 19
"From The Guardian, Manchester."

The leadership struggle in the North Vietnamese Communist Party following the death of Ho Chi Minh has been won by the doves, led by Le Duan, over the hawks, led by Truong Chinh. The struggle has centered around traditional economic and ideological issues, but the manner in which Le Duan's majority faction proposes to resolve these issues clearly indicates that North Vietnam intends to shift from a war to a peace economy. Le Duan and Truong Chinh have long been at odds, the former stressing practical tasks and the latter the importance of ideology, but Le Duan has now consolidated his position sufficiently to threaten Truong Chinh and other members of the war faction with expulsion from the party.

II. THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

MODERN WAR

1551
Caine, Philip D. URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, Feb. 1970: 73-78.
Z6723.U35, v. 50

The strategy and tactics of guerrilla and counterguerrilla warfare in an urban environment. Though the currently popular guerrilla warfare doctrines of Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara are based largely on experience with rural guerrilla movements, the precepts they recommend can, with few exceptions, "be applied to an urban environment with both validity and a reasonable chance of success." An urban guerrilla movement would present internal security forces with some unique and challenging problems, the solutions of which will require the development of new tactics and weapons systems.

1552
Eliot, George F. NEXT TIME WE'LL HAVE TO GET THERE FASTER. Army, v. 20, Apr. 1970: 32-36.
U1.A893, v. 20

A criticism of arguments in John J. McCuen's article entitled "Can We Win Revolutionary Wars?" published in Army, v. 19, Dec. 1969, and cited as item 607 in v. 6, no. 2 of this bibliography. Eliot advocates a purely military approach to counterinsurgency. Success in revolutionary warfare can be achieved not by adopting a protracted political strategy as recommended by McCuen but by rapidly deploying conventional military forces to achieve a decisive military victory and psychological advantage early in the war. "Today's requirements demand an American strategy based on our own concept of the military realities, and not on conforming to enemy patterns."

1553
Gebhardt, Hermann P. [URBAN GUERRILLAS IN LATIN AMERICA] Städische Guerillas in Lateinamerika. Aussenpolitik, v. 21, Feb. 1970: 85-93.
D839.A885, v. 21

The guerrilla movement in Latin America has changed essentially in one year: It shifted from the Pacific coast to the Atlantic and from the countryside to urban areas for lack of recruits in the countryside. This politically, ideologically, and in other ways unexpected departure from Cuban and Chinese models of guerrilla warfare defies the doctrines of warfare laid down by Castro, Mao Tse-tung, Che Guevara, and Régis Debray, who inspired the movement. (Translation of supplied abstract, modified)

1554
Howard, Michael E. STRATEGY AND POLICY IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY WARFARE. [Colorado Springs] United States Air Force Academy, 1967. 12 p. (The Harmon memorial lectures in military history, no. 9)
UA11.H68

Presents an historical summary of trends in strategic doctrine and briefly outlines a general approach to counterinsurgency. Winning positive popular support in contested areas is of greater importance than destroying the enemy militarily. Although the ability to achieve military control is a decisive factor in gaining support, numerical and technical superiority may ultimately be inconsequential if the guerrillas, despite repeated defeats, can continue to rely on a sympathetic population for support and protection. "A foreign power fights indigenous guerrillas under disadvantages so great that even the most overwhelming preponderance in military force and weapons may be insufficient to make up for them." Military operations and political action are inseparable and must be closely and carefully coordinated. The United States must help South Vietnam acquire widespread popular support and must persuade North Vietnam to negotiate a settlement without inflicting such severe damage that all chances of subsequent peace and stability will be prejudiced.

1555
Lamberg, R. F. LATIN AMERICA'S URBAN GUERRILLAS. Swiss review of world affairs, v. 20, June 1970: 18-19.
D839.S9, v. 20

Contends that, according to Latin American observers, the failure of rural guerrilla movements there can be attributed to the hope held by Castro's admirers in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, and Peru of imitating Fidel Castro's exploits in Cuba, despite dissimilar conditions; discusses the resurgence of urban guerrilla groups in five Latin American countries; and asserts that the Castro regime no longer has much control over the guerrillas and that Havana wishes to extricate itself to pursue a more traditional political course.

1556
LeGro, William E. THE WHY AND HOW OF LIMITED WAR. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, July 1970: 32-39.
Z6723.U35, v. 50

Opinion is divided as to which restrictions are more critical in setting limits to a war--those relating to weapons systems and targets, or those relating to political objectives. Actually, both are important, constituting the "how" and "why" of limited conflict. The danger a limited war seeks

to avoid is escalation to the level of general war or nuclear exchange, but too often strategists become concerned with the problem of minimizing risk to the exclusion of all else. Risk can be calculated only after the political objectives and military strategy have been chosen. A careful assessment of enemy interests, intentions, and capabilities will then enable the decisionmaker to determine the degree of risk to be faced in a conflict and whether the prize is worth it. The political objectives should be clearly understood by friend and foe alike; they should not be changed lightly or for transient causes. Military objectives should be such as can be seized quickly with decisive results. If political restraints will not permit this, the political leadership should be so informed. The American people will sustain a protracted war only if the survival of the nation is at stake or it is fought with regular troops. Since regulars in the required numbers are unlikely to be available for large-scale limited wars, the leadership will have to either abandon all hope of attaining their objectives or rescind the political barriers against striking decisively with overwhelming force.

1557
Mallin, Jay, comp. STRATEGY FOR CONQUEST; COMMUNIST DOCUMENTS ON GUERRILLA WARFARE. Coral Gables, Fla., University of Miami Press [1970] 381 p. U240.M27
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Foreword, by S. L. A. Marshall.--Preface.--Introduction, by Jay Mallin.--On protracted war, by Mao Tse-tung.--Long live the victory of people's war, by Lin Piao.--The big victory; the great task, by Vo Nguyen Giap.--Some aspects of guerrilla warfare in Viet Nam, by Hoang Van Thai.--Guerrilla warfare: a method, by Ernesto "Che" Guevara.--Operation antiaircraft, by Raul Castro.--One hundred fifty questions to a guerrilla, by Alberto Bayo.--Notes.--Sources.--Bibliography.--Index.

Contains seven major documents on the theoretical and practical aspects of Communist subversion and guerrilla warfare that "present a fundamental view of Communist thinking on guerrilla warfare as a method for conquest." Each selection is preceeded by a biographical sketch of its author.

1558
Matute, Edgardo B. BIRTH AND EVOLUTION OF WAR GAMES. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, July 1970: 49-56. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 50

Traces the evolution of war games, focusing on such significant innovations as the "sandtable," movable pieces, the "free game," and timetables. Matute discusses the contributions of Napoleon, Julius von Verdy du Vernois, and Von Moltke to the development of war gaming.

1559
Mercier Vega, Luis. GUERRILLAS IN LATIN AMERICA; THE TECHNIQUE OF COUNTERSTATE. Translated by Daniel Weissbort. New York, Praeger [1969] 246 p. maps. F1414.2.M413
Translation of Technique du contre-état.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--List of abbreviations.--Introduction.--pt. 1. Chemistry and alchemy: Proclamations and appeals. Theoretical difficulties. Variations in the Cuban Government's position. Reservations of the extreme Left. The USSR and China in Latin America. Origins of the guerrilla fighters. Military methods. Theories and techniques of counter-guerrilla warfare. Guerrillas within the political system.--pt. 2. The national situations: Venezuela; the long way back to legality. Argentina; a trial run. Colombia; putting violence to some use. Guatemala; between theory and maquis. Bolivia; the army confounded. Brazil; the army in power. Paraguay; the CP v. the guerrillas. Peru; suicidal insurrection. Elsewhere; men, words and methods.--pt. 3. Documents: "War Diary" of the EGP. The guerrilla war in Peru and its repression. Report of the Commission of Inquiry of the Armed Forces of National Liberation in the Federal District. The attack on the train. Declaration of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. Douglas Bravo's thesis. The CP of Venezuela denounces Fidel Castro. Two passages from Guevara's 'Guerrilla Warfare.' Che Guevara's farewell letter to his parents.--Notes and references.--Index.--Maps.

Examines the natures, origins, and strengths of Latin American guerrilla movements and their positions in national and international politics and assesses their roles in the process of social change.

1560
Nash, Henry T. INFORMATION AND DECISION MAKING IN LIMITED WAR. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, Feb. 1970: 79-87.
Z6723.U35, v. 50

Examines the difficulties of communication between theater commanders and national decisionmakers in limited-war situations that can escalate to significantly higher levels of conflict. The major problem is reconciling the theater commander's need for quick decisions that enable him to exploit opportune moments in the evolving tactical situation with the national leadership's justifiable reluctance to delegate the authority to decide questions of the greatest moment, such as whether to use tactical nuclear weapons. One solution would be for political authorities to specify "a set of threat 'levels' which, once encountered by units in the field, would immediately sanction a specified level of nuclear retaliation."

1561
Thompson, Sir Robert G. K. ON THE ROAD TO A JUST PEACE. Reader's digest, v. 96, Mar. 1970: 68-73.
AP2.R255, v. 96

Assesses the political and military situation in Vietnam, the role of the Paris negotiations, and American and North Vietnamese objectives and strategy; defines victory and peace; and concludes that the primary objective should be the eradication of the Vietcong underground organization in South Vietnam. "Only if South Vietnam is secure within itself, with the Vietcong virtually eliminated, can it possibly face, with a minimum of American support, the continued threat of the North Vietnamese army on its borders," and a recent shift in U.S. strategy is steadily eroding the Vietcong's recruiting base in South Vietnam. The balance of power inside the country has shifted in favor of the Government, which is now in a better position to win the war.

1562
Whetten, Lawrence L. THE CHANGING NATURE OF WARFARE. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, Feb. 1970: 92-96. Z6723.U35, v. 50

Implications of recent changes in the global distribution of power and in the technology of warfare. In general the great-power confrontations of the recent past are giving way to more varied and complex configurations of conflict. To meet this new situation, new strategies for subtotal war must be devised that will avoid the pitfalls of gradualism and incorporate the insight that "the success of subtotal engagements will depend, in part, on the accuracy of each contestant's measurement of its political interests and commitments in any given confrontation." The great powers will "become increasingly cautious in selecting those crises that warrant their intervention or those new regional coalitions in which they will participate."

MODERN WEAPONRY AND RELATED TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

1563
Anderson, Richard H., and Bruno J. Manz. ON THE LEVERAGE OF MULTIPLE-PURPOSE WEAPONS. Air University review, v. 21, Jan./Feb. 1970: 46-56. TL501.A5574, v. 21

Examines the dual-purpose strategic missile and the area ABM. The advantages of each are explained and corroborated by mathematical equations.

1564
[A BALANCE SHEET OF A "NATIONAL PEOPLE'S-ARMY" PARADE; TECHNICAL ARMAMENTS TENDENCIES IN THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION] Bilanz einer "NVA"-Parade; Rüstungstechnische Tendenzen im Warschauer Pakt. Soldat und Technik, v. 13, Mar. 1970: 125-128. illus. U3.S58, v. 13

Outlines several weapons systems of the East German Army and concludes that since the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Moscow apparently has not objected to an intensive modernization of its satellite's forces.

1565
Baldini, Aldo. THE ITALIAN NAVY--ITS SITUATION AND PROGRAMMES. International defense review, v. 3, Mar. 1970: 56-58. illus. Ser

Outlines current and planned Italian naval capabilities in the categories of ocean going, coastal, special operations, submarine, minesweeping, logistics, and air forces.

1566
Bellany, Ian. MIRVS AND THE STRATEGIC BALANCE. Nature (London) v. 226, May 2, 1970: 412-413. Q1.N2, v. 226

Putting n number of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRV's) on a total strategic force of one offensive missile would multiply the first-strike capability of the force by a factor n. Deploying an extra n-1 single-warhead missile would obtain the same result. In the former case, however, a direct hit on a missile silo in a first strike would deprive the second-strike force of all n warheads, while, in the latter case, it would destroy only one. Little attention has been paid to this asymmetrical aspect of MIRV deployment. Here it has been subjected to simple algebraic analysis to determine its implications for the stability of the superpower nuclear balance when stability is taken to be a function of the number of warheads surviving a first strike. The result of this analysis indicates that, if it be assumed that the strategic forces of the two sides are quantitatively and qualitatively equal, and that neither side has an ABM system, maximum strategic stability would be achieved by the deployment of an average of 1.92 independently targetable warheads per missile. If it be assumed that the two adversaries do possess ABM systems, the optimum value would be 4.6. Thus in both cases, the optimum value is greater than one, which indicates that, contrary to expectations, deployment of MIRV's would tend to stabilize the strategic balance. It is true of course, that the strategic forces of the two superpowers are not quantitatively and qualitatively equal in all respects, but the pressures of the arms race force both sides to emulate each other in quantity and quality of weaponry, and to that extent the algebraic model is an accurate reflection of reality.

1567
Brown, Neville. THE REAL CAPABILITIES OF SOVIET AND U.S. WEAPONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND HOW THE TWO SIDES USE THEM--A NEW APPROACH TO ASSESSING THE AERIAL POWER BALANCE. New Middle East, no. 20, May 1970: 11-14. illus. DS63.1.N48, 1970

Compares air and antiaircraft weapons systems of the Arabs and Israelis. Brown finds "that Israel

retains a marked superiority in every class of combat aircraft and airborne weapon system," organization, and technical support. He concludes that Soviet SAM-3 antiaircraft missiles may make Israeli penetration of Egyptian air defenses more difficult and costly but will not basically alter the Middle East air balance.

1568
50-KNOT NAVY. Astronautics & aeronautics, v. 8, June 1970: 44-70. illus.
TL501.A688A25, v. 8

"With an introductory interview with R. Adm. Nathan Sonenshein, Commander, Naval Ship Systems Command."

Contents.--50-knot hydrofoils we could start building today, by Gene R. Myers.--Surface-effect ships approach a new beginning, by James L. Decker.--The challenges of big catamarans, by Jacques B. Hadler and G. R. Lamb.

Assesses the technological developments, design problems, performance characteristics, feasibility, and military and commercial applications of hydrofoils, surface-effect ships, air-cushion vehicles, and catamarans.

1569
Geisenheyner, Stefan. BRITISH MISSILES: A VERSATILE ARMORY. Air Force and space digest, v. 53, Apr. 1970: 54-60. illus.
UG633.A65, v. 53

Surveys Britain's missile programs and describes the capabilities and characteristics of various long- and short-range naval and land-based surface-to-air, air-to-air, and surface-to-surface missiles.

1570
Hamlin, Ross E. SIDE-FIRING WEAPON SYSTEMS: A NEW APPLICATION OF AN OLD CONCEPT. Air Force review, v. 21, Jan./Feb. 1970: 76-88. illus.
TL501.A5574, v. 21

Describes the advantages of side-firing gunships, the situations in which they are most frequently employed, and the methods of detecting and acquiring targets.

1571
Lapp, Ralph E. ARMS BEYOND DOUBT; THE TYRANNY OF WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY. New York, Cowles Book Co. [1970] 210 p. UA23.L28 1970

Contents.--pt. 1. Of arms and men.--pt. 2. A modern hydra.--pt. 3. Sentinel and Safeguard.--pt. 4. The ABM debate.--pt. 5. Scientists and Senators.--pt. 6. The Congress shall provide.--pt. 7. The weapons makers.--pt. 8. Technology and militarism.--Glossary.--Appendix I.--Appendix II.--Index.

Argues that the United States should examine its security in light of today's technologies and maintains that America has "overreached [itself] in [its] quest for security and that by so doing [it has] led to an escalation of the arms race." Weapons technology, not man, has been the primary factor in shaping U.S. defense policy. Arms control measures like the partial test ban and nonproliferation treaties have neither stopped the march of weapons technology nor limited strategic arms. Unfortunately, because of the inspection problem, hope is very dim for achieving some limitation on deployed ICBM's.

1572
Leary, Frank. ULMS: WILL ALL THE TARGETS GO TO SEA? Armed Forces management, v. 16, May 1970: 36-40. illus. UB153.A65, v. 16

Describes the Navy's proposed underwater long-range missile system, enumerates its advantages, compares it with the present fleet ballistic missile system, and contends that arms control agreements to freeze the number of land-based missiles could be linked to an agreement to expand the number of missiles at sea and thus increase "the ratio of potential targets that are away from the respective land masses."

1573
London, Michael P. B-1: THE LAST BOMBER? Space/aeronautics, v. 53, Apr. 1970: 26-33. illus.
TL501.A8187, v. 53

Assesses the present and future role of heavy bombers in U.S. strategy, compares bomber and missile capabilities, and describes the capabilities, characteristics, and weapons systems of the B-1, focusing on its ability to penetrate enemy air defenses. "Agreements at Salt or further developments in missilery could erode the case for the new bomber--time is not on USAF's side--but barring these, the B-1 is inevitable."

1574
Lowe, George E. INVULNERABLE OCEANIC FORCE BRINGS RE-EVALUATION OF STRATEGIC PLANNING. Navy, v. 13, Apr. 1970: 12-15. illus.
VA49.N28, v. 13

Discusses the impact of submarine-launched ballistic missile systems and multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles on international politics. In combination, these two systems constitute perhaps the ultimate in strategic deterrent capability and give mankind its best chance so far to construct a more peaceful world.

1575
Lynn, Norman. [THE U.S. AEROSPACE INDUSTRY: ON NEW ROADS] Die Aerospace-Industrie der USA: Auf neuen Wegen. Flug-Revue, no. 2, Feb. 1970: 18-21. illus. TL503.C524, 1970

The 1970s are expected to bring tremendous growth to the U.S. aerospace industry, marked by larger contribution of commercial aircraft to that growth. The industry will probably hold its lead over others, despite the problems confronting it. Experts forecast the U.S. will produce 85 percent of the world's aircraft over the next ten years, double that of the previous decade. The U.S. aircraft production during the next ten years is estimated at 280,050 of the world total of 327,800 planes of all types. This production will consist of 250,060 general aviation types, 4070 commercial transports and 25,920 military aircraft. On the other hand the U.S. industry faces the challenge by the European and Japanese industries, the first of which is expected to produce nearly 13,000 military planes from 1969 to 1978. Norman Lynn draws a picture of the U.S. industry in the decade of change lying ahead. (Abstract supplied)

1576
McConnell, Arthur F. MISSION: RANCH HAND. Air University review, v. 21, Jan./Feb. 1970: 89-91, 94. TL501.A5574, v. 21

Traces the evolution of U.S. defoliation operations in Vietnam from their inception through early 1969, attributing unqualified success to the program.

1577
Marriott, John. NATO'S ANTI-SUBMARINE POTENTIAL. International defense review, v. 3, Mar. 1970: 50-55. illus. Ser

Describes the nature and extent of the Soviet submarine threat and the capabilities and limitations of NATO's antisubmarine warfare detection methods, weapons, and weapons platforms. "The fact must be faced that the detection of a nuclear ballistic or cruise missile submarine at present would be purely a matter of luck."

1578
Müller, Johannes. [AIR COMBAT FORCES IN THE 1970'S] Die Luftstreitkräfte in den siebziger Jahren. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 8, Jan./Feb. 1970: 37-43. illus. U3.034, v. 8

Points to the rapidity of technological obsolescence and the escalation of flyaway costs as forcing an interest in multipurpose air-combat armament and emphasizing the need for advanced methods of combat-effectiveness evaluation. A general examination of political goals and strategic concepts and of the interrelationships between tactics and technology precedes Müller's projection of the tactical fighter, reconnaissance, and transport planes and the command and control elements of the 1970's.

1579
Murphy, Charles H. CHINA'S PLACE IN NUCLEAR STAKES. Far Eastern economic review, v. 67, Apr. 16, 1970: 18. HC411.F18, v. 67

Summarizes information on Communist China's nuclear weapons program in Secretary of Defense Laird's 1970 review of America's defense posture and concludes that Peking intends to compete on a large scale with the United States and the Soviet Union in strategic nuclear weapons. Although the Chinese cannot gain parity with the superpowers in this decade, they may achieve a credible second-strike capability in 5 to 7 years, and the United States and the Soviet Union will try to preserve their first-strike capabilities vis-a-vis China by deploying anti-Chinese ABM's.

1580
Newcombe, Hanna, Michael Ross, and Alan G. Newcombe. UNITED NATIONS VOTING PATTERNS. International organization, v. 24, winter 1970: 100-121. illus. JX1901.I55, v. 24

Factor analysis of the roll-call votes of all regular plenary sessions of the U.N. General Assembly from 1946 to 1963. The authors divide the sessions into four periods--1946-50, 1951-55, 1956-60, 1961-63--to discover shifts in nation-bloc voting patterns and present their results in a series of figures: a graph showing time changes in nation-bloc alinements, a table showing the factor loadings for al nations with high loadings and the percentage variances for each bloc during the four time intervals, seven plots of selected bloc alinements during the four periods, and a table and chart showing the variation of the distance between pairs of representative bloc countries from 1946 to 1963. "The main pattern discovered in the changes in nation blocs over time is a trend toward bipolarization: The Latin American nations joined the West while the Afro-Asian states joined the Soviet bloc. Brief attempts at forming separate Scandinavian and imperial blocs proved abortive. The pro-West neutral bloc was small and fluid in its membership."

1581
Nininger, Robert D. THE WORLD URANIUM PICTURE. Nuclear news, v. 13, July 1970: 51-58. illus. QC770.N75, v. 13

World overview and country-by-country survey of supply-and-demand trends for uranium for power production. To meet long-term world requirements, large additions to known uranium reserves must be discovered. The United States cannot and need not depend on foreign production to meet its long-term domestic needs; if domestic exploration is reasonably successful, the United States will occupy the position of seller rather than buyer in the world market.

1582
Niu, Sien-chong. COMMUNIST CHINA AND ITS NUCLEAR WEAPONS. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 15, Apr./May 1970: 72-74, 76. illus. UA646.F5, v. 15

Surveys Communist China's nuclear program, especially nuclear weapons tests, and concludes that

China has made significant progress toward the development of a strategic nuclear force in spite of delays attributed to the cultural revolution.

1583
NO BOOM FOR ATOMIC ENERGY. Nature (London) v. 226, May 30, 1970: 792.
Q1.N2, v. 226

Takes note of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy's concern that the administration's budget request for the Atomic Energy Commission may not be large enough to support basic research, liquid-metal fast-breeder reactor development, and fissile-materials production and stockpiling at adequate levels. The Committee is particularly fearful that plans to reduce plutonium and enriched uranium production will jeopardize the ABM program and render the United States unable to meet its commitment to provide fissile material for peaceful purposes to all qualified customers.

1584
Perret-Gentil, Jacques. [BILATERAL MISSILE AND ROCKET PROJECTS] Bilaterale Flugkörper- und Raketenprojekte [by] J. Pergent. Wehrkunde, v. 19, Feb. 1970: 87-92. illus.
U3.W396, v. 19

Points to the possibility of missiles replacing all other weapons by virtue of their military versatility and to a growing need for the lesser powers to cooperate multilaterally in missile development. Unilateral French missile and rocket development projects and those shared bilaterally with Germany and Great Britain are discussed, and general technical data given. Continued missile development will lead to concentration and reorganization of the industries concerned.

1585
Perret-Gentil, Jacques. [DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRENCH FORCE DE FRAPPE] Die Entwicklung der französischen Force de frappe [by] J. Pergent. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 136, Feb. 1970: 89-92. illus.
U3.A43, v. 136

Describes the state of development of the French strategic nuclear force, which comprises a strategic air force, surface-to-surface ballistic missiles, and sea-to-surface ballistic missiles. The least developed of the three elements, the sea-to-surface missile force, will eventually become the most important.

1586
PLOWSHARE: FOUR PERSPECTIVES. Nuclear news, v. 13, May 1970: 34-53. illus.
QC770.N75, v. 13

Contents.--The future of Plowshare, by John S. Kelly.--Plowshare and radioactivity: safety considerations, by H. A. Tewes.--Engineering with nuclear explosives near populated areas, by K. Parker.--USSR program on peaceful uses of nuclear explosives, by Glenn C. Werth.

Problems and prospects in the use of nuclear explosives for peaceful purposes. Kelly examines the achievements of the U.S. program and proposes a new approach to the development of nuclear explosives applications. Tewes discusses some public health aspects of nuclear explosives engineering and notes the difficulty of weighing the expected benefits of a proposed project against the potential hazards to the public. Parker offers a West European perspective on the use of nuclear explosives in populated areas and considers the feasibility of and need for several specific projects. Werth describes the Soviet program to develop applications for nuclear explosives in oil and gas, water resources, and mining engineering.

1587
Salkeld, Robert. WAR AND SPACE. Foreword by General B. A. Schriever. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall [c1970] xxiv, 195 p.
UG630.S24

Contents.--Foreword.--Preface.--Introduction.--A shrinking world in peril.--Promise beyond the sky.--Strategic systems in deep space.--The cold war in space.--America in the space age.--Bibliography.--Index.

Asserts that "deployment of strategic systems in deep space promises unprecedented degrees of survivability, mainly because they would be insulated by astronomically large distances and thus able essentially to hide in vast, still unexplored regions." The survivability of the existing strategic deterrent systems is constantly being eroded by technological advances in reconnaissance, antiaircraft systems, antisubmarine warfare, missile guidance accuracy, and multiple warheads. If strategic arms are confined to the earth, as the outer space treaty intends, then the survival of nations will depend on man's ability to avoid war by formal or tacit agreement. However, history is replete with man's failure to prevent wars and to control the development and proliferation of increasingly destructive weapons. Salkeld discusses the infrastructure and cost of deep space systems and speculates on the engineering feasibility of these systems.

1588
Skorobogatkin, K. SCIENCE AND THE MODERN ARMY. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 16, Mar. 27, 1970: pt. 2, [item] 3, 1-7.
Slav Rm
Translated from Krasnaia zvezda, Mar. 5, 1970.
Slav Rm

Because of the revolution in maneuverability, fire and striking power, and speed of deployment, the outcome of armed clashes will probably be decided in shorter periods of time than ever before. Modern military science must master the increasingly complicated problem of the interaction of arms and services, logistical work, and field op-

erations. The moral, political, and organizational combat readiness of the troops must be deepened. "Combat preparedness should be regarded not only on the scale of one country but on that of the entire socialist community." It is necessary to think beyond the present and forecast scientifically the future development of arms, materials, and the art of war itself.

1589
Stifani, Giuseppe. [MODERNIZING THE ITALIAN AIR COMBAT FORCES] Modernisierung der italienischen Luftstreitkräfte. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 14, Mar. 1970: 129-130. illus.
U3.W38, v. 14

Plans for modernizing the Italian air combat forces call for the purchase of 16 Lockheed C-130-type transport planes and 40 to 45 Breguet 941-S short takeoff and landing planes. The obsolescence of the C-100 now in use and doubts about the domestic FIAT G-222 model determined these decisions. It is expected that supplemental financing will be available. Helicopters and trainers can be procured from Italian industry, but fighter planes will be purchased abroad, probably in France or Sweden, with the McDonnell-Douglas F-4 International a possible contender.

1590
Surabekov, V. NAVAL WARFARE. Soviet military review, Feb. 1970: 34-35. illus.
U1.S7, 1970

Modern naval weapons are so efficient that operational and even strategic aims are immediately attainable by limited naval forces. The atomic submarine has become the main strike force of modern navies, supplanting the aircraft carrier. In addition to a supersonic and missile-carrying air arm, today's navy is characterized by the surface missile carrier, a new type of ship with a considerably smaller displacement. The main naval mission consists of destruction by nuclear weapons of objectives in the enemy coast and interior and annihilation of the enemy strike force. While the navy also retains its older, more traditional mission, the new weapons have radically changed the character of operations at sea.

1591
Taubinger, László M. von. [THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES] Die chinesischen Volksstreitkräfte. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 136, Feb. 1970: 92-96.
U3.A43, v. 136

Traces development of the Chinese Communist Armed Forces since 1927, gives the current status of their principal elements, and outlines their weapons systems. China's nuclear armaments now focus on development of delivery vehicles for nuclear bombs. Taubinger notes the discrepancy between American and Japanese estimates as to when Peking will acquire its first intercontinental ballistic missiles: 1972-75 or 1970. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is well trained but inadequately supplied with modern weaponry. However, the nation can strengthen its military potential as it accelerates its industrial development.

1592
Ulsamer, Edgar E. TECHNOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY--KEY TO US SECURITY AND SURVIVAL. Air Force and space digest, v. 53, July 1970: 31-36.
UG633.A65, v. 53

A report on an interview with Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., Director of Defense Research and Engineering of the U.S. Department of Defense.

Describes the recent Soviet buildup, concentrating on their rapidly expanding strategic capabilities and steady increase in military and military-related research and development. Dr. Foster stresses that the United States needs the ABM, multiple independent reentry vehicles, B-1 bombers, mobile ICBM's, improved sea-launched ballistic missile systems, and manned military space operations. In his view, the Soviets may have a first-strike capability by 1975, and he concludes that although U.S. security and survival depend on strategic and technological superiority, "this country is perilously close to the point of being 'second best' on both counts."

1593
Ulsamer, Edgar E. USAF'S MOST VERSATILE BOMBER. Air Force and space digest, v. 53, Apr. 1970: 37-44. illus. UG633.A65, v. 53

Discusses the performance characteristics, strategic and tactical roles, airframe design, management, and weapons, avionics, and propulsion systems of the B-1 strategic bomber program.

1594
United Nations. Group of Consultant Experts on Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons. CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS AND THE EFFECTS OF THIER POSSIBLE USE. A United Nations report no. E. 69. I. 24; with a special foreword by George Wald. New York, Ballantine Books [1970] xxx, 178 p.
UG447.U44

Contents.--Foreword, by George Wald.--Preface, by U Thant.--Letter of transmittal.--Introduction.--The basic characteristics of chemical and bacteriological (biological) means of warfare.--The probable effects of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons on military and civilian personnel, both protected and unprotected.--Environmental factors affecting the use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons.--Possible long-term effects of chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare on human health and ecology.--Economic and security implications of the development, acquisition and possible use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and systems of their delivery.--Conclusion.--Annexes.--Bibliography.

Stresses the ease with which chemical and biological weapons can be acquired and the unpredictability of their effects on the natural environment and social structure. The report speculates that "the momentum of the arms race would clearly decrease" and "the prospects for general and complete disarmament under effective international control and hence for peace throughout the world, would brighten significantly" if these weapons were prohibited.

1595
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. Nevada Operations Office. SAFETY OF UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTING: SUMMARY REPORT ON ACTIVITIES FOR ASSURING THE SAFETY OF UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTING. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969. 20 p. (TID-24996) DLC

Partial contents.--Introduction.--Underground phenomenology.--Containment of radioactive debris.--Groundwater contamination and movement.--Ground motion induced by nuclear detonations.--Management control for safety in nuclear testing.--Selected supplemental reading list.

Summarizes knowledge concerning the effects of underground explosions, describes safety procedures followed in underground nuclear testing, and outlines the interaction between the Atomic Energy Commission and the scientific community "in extending . . . knowledge of the effects of underground explosions."

1596
U.S. Congress. House. Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments. DIPLOMATIC AND STRATEGIC IMPACT OF MULTIPLE WARHEAD MISSILES. Hearings, Ninety-first Congress, first session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969. 302 p. illus.
KF27.F6483 1969
Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.
Hearings held July 8-Aug. 5, 1969.

Testimony from Congressmen, academics, research specialists, and Government officials, taken in conjunction with resolutions before the committee calling for a moratorium on independently targetable reentry vehicle testing and deployment, for the purpose of determining the impact of this weapon on America's strategic position and the strategic arms limitation talks.

1597
Witze, Claude. AWACS--FAST, MOBILE, AND VERSATILE. Air Force and space digest, v. 53, June 1970: 41-45. illus. UG633.A65, v. 53

Summarizes the capabilities and tactical and strategic roles of the airborne warning and control system (AWACS) and considers the advantages of airborne radar and control systems over ground-based systems. Although its strategic mission in the U.S. air defense program is emphasized. AWACS has an equally important place in tactical air warfare.

NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES AND MILITARY STRATEGIES

1598
THE BALANCED FLEET AND AMPHIBIOUS FORCES. Navy, v. 13, May 1970: 25-29. illus.
VA49.N28, v. 13

Current trends in the organization and technology of amphibious warfare. Innovations aimed at creating a more compact, faster U.S. sealift have been introduced. Nevertheless, an overall reduction in amphibious capability is certain to occur, which means that, in the seventies, the United States will have to make do with a reduced capability for influencing the course of events overseas.

1599
Baudissin, Wolf, Graf von. [SOLDIER FOR PEACE. SKETCHES FOR AN ARMY OF THE PRESENT TIME] Soldat für den Frieden. Entwürfe für eine zeitgemässe Bundeswehr. Hrsg. und eingeleitet von Peter v. Schubert. München, S. Piper [1969] 335 p.
UA710.B33
Bibliography: p. [321]-327.

Partial contents.--The soldier confronts the necessity of rethinking.--On conceivable portraits of war.--The concept of the military of the Federal Republic of Germany.--The ideal soldier of the Federal Republic.--The training of a soldier of the Federal Republic.--On the strategy of the alliance.--Confessions of faith.

Selected articles, memoranda, lectures, and reports prepared since 1951. The first grouping illustrates the intellectual processes by which Baudissin, a former Reichswehr and Wehrmacht officer, appraised and accepted his obligations to the new German Government. The next grouping sketches the possible shape of the war of the future, and the third discusses the problem of dissociating the legitimate German military tradition from the excesses of Hitler's Wehrmacht. The largest grouping is devoted to the place of war and the armed forces in the structure of the German Federal Republic and the problem of creating a defense system in which the state's sociopolitical principles are fully recognized. Methods of training the modern German soldier, the "citizen in uniform," must emphasize the pluralist society and parliamentary democracy in which he has his roots and to which he will return. On the other hand, the use of the army as the great national school is disavowed. The discussion of the NATO alliance centers on the need for German strategic studies. The miscellaneous materials gathered in the last grouping are intended to give an impression of the personality and ethical motivation of General Baudissin.

1600
Birrenbach, Kurt. [NATO AND THE SECURITY OF EUROPE] Die NATO und die Sicherheit Europas. Wehrkunde, v. 19, Feb. 1970: 58-62.
U3.W396, v. 19
Paper presented at the seventh International Wehrkunde Meeting, held in Munich, Feb. 7-8, 1970.

Considers factors that influence European security: the Brezhnev doctrine, which limits East-West détente in Europe; Soviet political and military penetration of the Eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea regions and access to the Indian Ocean; Sino-Soviet boundary conflicts; the American effort to withdraw from Vietnam; President De Gaulle's resignation; and West Germany's new Eastern policy. Birrenbach discusses the Brezhnev doctrine's effect on NATO's military policy and defense planning; the relationship of conventional and nuclear components in NATO's flexible-response strategy; and NATO's military strength in Europe vis-a-vis the Warsaw Treaty Organization. He points to the need for increased sharing in NATO's defense by European members and for the continuance of the U.S. military presence in Europe and West European dependence on U.S. nuclear protection. He analyzes existing and possible forms of West European cooperation within NATO and concludes that strengthening NATO's European components alone would not automatically produce the needed increase in the alliance's defense strength, which will depend also on development of American-West European relations and possibly on the outcome of future East-West disarmament talks.

1601
Boorman, Scott A. THE PROTRACTED GAME; A WEI-CH'I INTERPRETATION OF MAOIST REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY. New York, Oxford University Press, 1969. 242 p. illus. DS775.B66
Bibliographical references included in "Notes" (p. 207-234).

Contents.--Introduction.--The game of wei-ch'i.--Wei-ch'i and insurgency: a formal analogy.--The Kiangsi period.--The Sino-Japanese war.--Civil war, 1945-1949.--Retrospect and preview.--Appendices.

Applies wei-ch'i, the ancient Chinese game of strategy, as an analogic model to the Communist insurgent strategy in China and concludes that it provides a useful formal methodology for studying the dynamics of Chinese Communist strategy and insurgent actions in Southeast Asia and predicting future Chinese Communist international behavior.

1602
Brown, William M. LIMITING DAMAGE FROM NUCLEAR WAR. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1969. 92 p. illus. ([Rand Corporation] Memorandum RM-6043-PR)
Q180.A1R36

Contents.--Preface.--Summary.--List of figures.--List of tables.--Introduction.--Context.--Deferred-cost survival systems.--Expensive damage-limiting systems.--Combined active and passive damage-limiting systems.--Conclusions and suggested research.--Appendix.--References.

"Examines and finds wanting some of the past assumptions about the nature of nuclear attacks and some of the previous designs from which the potential of D/L [damage-limiting] systems has been estimated"; asserts that D/L systems can be developed that would reduce current estimates of fatalities from a nuclear attack by 90 percent; focuses on deferred-cost and expensive D/L systems; and offers several research topics for follow-on studies.

1603
Buzadzic, Zdravko, and Branko Jovanovič. THE ROLE OF CIVIL DEFENCE IN THE YUGOSLAV NATIONAL DEFENCE SYSTEM. International civil defence, v. 17, Mar. 1970: 1-8. UA926.I488, v. 17
Reprinted from Yugoslav Survey. DR301.Y85

Discusses Yugoslavia's civil defense, which became part of the national defense system under the 1965 National Defense Act, and its organization, tasks, and objectives. Civil defense is a unified system that operates at the commune level and is primarily responsible for the protection and rescue of life and property. Civil defense agencies have set up units with specialized functions like medical aid, radioactive fallout detection, or firefighting. All citizens 16 to 65 years old, with some exceptions, must serve in the system.

1604
Canstein, Raban, Freiherr von. [THE WARSAW PACT SINCE AUGUST 21, 1968] Der Warschauer Pakt seit dem 21. 8. 1968. Wehrkunde, v. 19, Feb. 1970: 66-71. U3.W396, v. 19

Considers the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) a means to threaten the West, subjugate East European countries, and win the best bargaining position for the Soviet Union in East-West negotiations on arms control, disarmament, and European security. A unilateral reduction of military power by NATO would only weaken the West's bargaining position vis-a-vis Moscow. The development of Sino-Soviet relations influences the WTO's position in Europe. Neither Peking nor Moscow could benefit from a full-scale conventional or nuclear war between the Soviet Union and a centrally ruled China. However, a substantial weakening of China--e.g., through political decentralization--or a Sino-Soviet accommodation would adversely affect NATO. Lingering Sino-Soviet tension will probably make Moscow more ready for cooperation with the United States, but not to the point of weakening the WTO as a Soviet cordon sanitaire. Canstein discusses the Soviet control of WTO members, Soviet nuclear monopoly within the organization, possession of nuclear-weapon delivery vehicles by WTO members, and limitations of political solidarity within WTO and compares the military strengths of NATO and the WTO. He concludes that it would be dangerous for the West to treat as serious the Soviet proposals on dissolution of the WTO and NATO.

1605
Coffey, Joseph I. STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY, DETERRENCE AND ARMS CONTROL. Orbis, v. 13, winter 1970: 991-1007. D839.068, v. 13

Strategic superiority could guard against future enemy improvements in weapons development and offset uncertainties in weapons calculations, but the problem is "whether it is any longer possible for one superpower to maintain a meaningful advantage over the other." The United States could pursue strategic superiority by building more ICBM's to destroy a very high percentage of the Soviet Union's strategic offensive forces, but this would require at least as many missiles as there are targets; in fact, considering the uncertainties of weapons performance and faulty intelligence, more warheads than targets would be required. An alternative would be qualitative improvements in existing weapons systems like multiple warheads. However, the Soviet Union could build super-hardened silos, make its land-based missiles mobile, shift from land-based to sea-launched missiles, build long-endurance launching platforms, or orbit weapons of mass destruction to increase the survivability of its strategic offensive forces. A technological breakthrough could give the United States strategic superiority, but past innovations in weapons technology have not decisively affected the balance of terror because of the complexity of nuclear strike forces and the continuous search for countermeasures. U.S. efforts to achieve strategic superiority would reestablish the strategic balance at higher force levels and adversely affect Soviet-American relations. These actions could generate new opposition to the nonproliferation treaty by those states primarily interested in reducing the superpowers' armaments and might arouse dissatisfaction among allies left exposed to nuclear attacks and lead them to demand ABM missiles and/or nuclear strike forces. Under such circumstances, chances for agreement on arms control measures would seem small. The superpowers must recognize that there are options available to them--a Soviet agreement not to expand its ABM system would obviate the need for the United States to install multiple warheads--that would be more acceptable than the futile efforts to achieve strategic superiority. Although such alterations in U.S. and Soviet policies will be difficult to achieve, they must be attempted before the United States embarks on another round in the arms race.

1606
Congressional Quarterly Service, Washington, D.C. GLOBAL DEFENSE; U.S. MILITARY COMMITMENTS ABROAD. Washington, 1969. 92 p. maps. (CQ background) UA23.C653
Bibliography: p. 92.

Contents.--Introduction.--Growth of commitments.--Analysis of commitments.--History of involvement.--Congressional concern.--Presidential war power.--Outlook.--Maps.--Tables and summaries.

Reviews the historical origins of U.S. foreign military commitments, surveys the nature and scope of these commitments, discusses congressional reaction and other criticism, and examines the President's foreign policy powers vis-a-vis Congress. The texts of treaties, resolutions, and other documents are included, along with tables showing the distribution and costs of U.S. forces and aid programs abroad.

1607
Cottrell, Alvin J. BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PERSIAN GULF. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, June 1970: 14-21. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 50

The decision to withdraw British troops from the Persian Gulf, which was primarily economic, also resulted from fears that a commitment in the area might provoke a crisis similar to that in Cyprus. Nevertheless, the British have played a major peacekeeping role in the region, and, according to the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, "British withdrawal could lead to a renewal of old interstate conflicts and the development of new disputes arising from changed circumstances." Edward Heath has stated that the Tories, when returned to power, will maintain a military presence East of Suez. However, they will be able only to modify, not reverse, the Labor Government's decision to withdraw. The prospect of British withdrawal has stimulated Soviet interest in the Mediterranean and caused concern over the Soviet politicomilitary threat. The West must continue to match Soviet capabilities and show by means other than well-wishing pronouncements that it wants stability in the region.

1608
Däniker, Gustav. [SWISS DEFENSE ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 1970'S] Die Verteidigung der Schweiz an der Schwelle der siebziger Jahre. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 8, Mar./Apr. 1970: 107-109. U3.034, v. 8

Reviews the development of the Swiss Armed Forces since the 1961 restructuring for mobility and the 1966 official promulgation of the defense "overall concept." The political agitation for and against the use of nuclear weapons that has resulted in the signature of the nonproliferation treaty is expected to continue. Possible modes of Swiss reaction in varied military confrontations are considered. Since military expenditures are only 2.5 percent of the gross national product, Däniker thinks that attainment of the reforms and improvements in the conventional forces contemplated for the 1970's is possible.

1609
Dalma, Alfons. [THE SUPERPOWERS AND STABILITY; ATTEMPT AT AN EVALUATION OF THE WORLD POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC SITUATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1970'S] Die Supermächte und die Stabilität; der Versuch einer Beurteilung der politischstrategischen Weltlage am Anfang der siebziger Jahre. Ös-

terreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 8, Jan./Feb. 1970: 4-8.
U3.034, v. 8

The basic factor making for world stability, deterrence through terror, will exert its influence throughout the next decade. However, in view of the dynamic effects of technology on strategy and politics, it is possible that this stability will be threatened frequently by changes in the relative status of American and Soviet armament. In the 1960's, land-based missiles, nuclear bombers, and carrier ships were superseded by the missile-armed submarine. The contest for numerical superiority in nuclear-powered rocket submarines will certainly continue. However, such imminent technological innovations as infrared, electromagnetic, and satellite reconnaissance techniques will almost certainly alter the picture of future strategic warfare now forecast. In the 1960's the Soviets broke out from their continental confines to a freedom of strategic movement that is illustrated by the presence of a Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean and Soviet supply ships in Egyptian harbors. The precarious nature of world stability can be realized by imagining the defeat of Israel and the full fruition of Soviet power diplomacy in the Eastern Mediterranean. Europe remains the natural confrontation ground, but the two superpower military blocs began to waver, and indeed a continued American military presence seems doubtful as Congress falls into a Vietnam-induced isolationism. The advent of China as a nuclear power, though primarily a threat to the U.S.S.R., does alter the overall equilibrium. America's use of Japan as a delegate policeman in Asia is another destabilizing factor. If the present bipolarization of power is altered, a united Western Europe may be necessary to ensure the security of countries like Austria and Switzerland.

1610
Davis, Vincent. AMERICAN MILITARY POLICY: DECISIONMAKING IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. Naval War College review, v. 22, May 1970: 4-23.
Ser
Adapted from a lecture given at the Naval War College.

Describes the process of formulating American security policy, focusing on the continuing trend toward greater centralization of authority within the White House staff. Davis briefly summarizes U.S. military reorganizations from 1900 to 1944 and analyzes major executive reorganizations of the military and foreign policy apparatus since 1947, particularly those in the National Security Council during the first year of the Nixon administration. The author concludes that "the National Security Council, its staff, and related machinery were not only the largest in history by the end of 1969 but they were also parts of the most complex, elaborate, and hierarchically structured governmental organization at that level in history." He indicates that the State Department seems to be a resurgent part of the policymaking process and suggests that Henry Kissinger's position appears to be evolving into a "Super Secretary of State and Defense."

1611
DEFENSE: STILL HOLDING THE LINE? Space/aeronautics, v. 53, Mar. 1970: 10-12. illus.
TL501.A8187, v. 53
Part of an article entitled "The New Budget."

Reviews the U.S. Defense Department's new budget proposal and concludes that it indicates a new emphasis on strategic deterrence. While a portion of the sharp decrease in funding for the general-purpose forces can be traced to the change from a two-and-a-half-wars to a one-and-a-half-wars posture, most of it can be attributed to reduced expenditures on Vietnam. Although there will be a considerable increase in spending on the Safeguard ABM system, plans for procurement and research and development reveal very little change.

1612
Dodds-Parker, Douglas, and others. RED FLEET OFF SUEZ: MEDITERRANEAN CHALLENGE. London, Conservative Political Centre, 1969. 19 p. (C.P.C. [Publications] no. 428)
UA770.R4

Considers the long-term political implications of Soviet naval penetration into the Mediterranean area, focusing on strategic, ideological, and economic motives. The report compares the relative strengths of the NATO and Soviet Mediterranean fleets, and delineates the role of Cyprus, Malta, and Gibraltar in NATO strategy. "There can be little prospect of the Soviets making use of their new naval power to attack Mediterranean members of NATO," and NATO commanders do not credit the Soviet Union "with an ability to make opposed landings from their amphibious vessels for the foreseeable future." A European naval task force should be created to work alongside, and under the same overall NATO command as the Sixth fleet. Such a force would strengthen NATO countermeasures against the Soviet naval threat, bring the Western European nations together on defense policy outside of the Rome treaty and the nuclear deterrent, undertake naval visits to enhance influence, and provide an opportunity to gain experience in joint naval operations in the Mediterranean. The authors "urge both the Labour government and the next Conservative administration to give urgent consideration to this proposal."

1613
Franklin, William D. SEAPOWER AS A WEAPON OF WAR. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, Feb. 1970: 64-72.
Z6723.U35, v. 50

Points to the growing dependence of the United States on overseas trade, warns of the waxing Soviet capability to exploit that dependence, outlines some advantages of naval forces in the nuclear age, and concludes with a call to the free seafaring nations to look to the advantages of in-

tegrating the land and sea elements of their national power.

1614
Freed, Jeffrey P. JAPAN: THE OLD GANG IS BACK. Progressive, v. 34, July 1970: 25-29.
AP2.P8655, v. 34

Contends that numerous wartime Japanese leaders have returned to power with U.S. approval and support and that they have undertaken a military buildup in preparation for a more active Japanese military role in Asia. Freed reviews the development of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, many of whose leaders were wartime officials, and notes the close personal and ideological ties between its leaders and U.S. political leaders, notably President Nixon. He charges that the Japanese Government has organized to suppress those opposed to its militaristic policies and concludes that the United States may try to utilize Japan's growing strength to maintain a system of pro-American reactionary governments from Thailand to South Korea.

1615
Frisbee, John L. THE B-1 BLUE CHIP IN THE DETERRENT STACK. Air Force and space digest, v. 53, Apr. 1970: 45-48. illus.
UG633.A65, v. 53

Summarizes the debate on the need for a new strategic bomber, examines the problem within the context of U.S. defense strategy and Soviet counterforce developments, and concludes that "the strategy outlined in the President's message will require relatively large and versatile strategic forces, including a bomber that can retain its effectiveness well into the future."

1616
Frisbee, John L. LET'S HAVE THREE FOR DETERRENCE. Air Force and space digest, v. 53, June 1970: 28-31. illus. UG633.A65, v. 53

A critical evaluation of the sea-based deterrent concept, which argues that three separate but complementary strategic deterrent systems are the most effective. While multiple deterrent systems confront hostile military planners with a series of unsolvable tactical and strategic problems, they also enhance U.S. strategic options and provide a hedge against technological breakthroughs that might checkmate a single weapons system. "One cannot reasonably foresee a weapon that is, and will remain, invulnerable, simply because technology can't be frozen."

1617
Görlich, Joachim G. [THE MILITARY POLICY OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC] Die Militärpolitik der Volksrepublik Polen. Wehrkunde, v. 19, Feb. 1970: 85-86. U3.W396, v. 19

Traces the development of "the Polish people's" military policy since World War II. An intensive buildup of the Polish Army followed the establishment of the German Federal Republic. Since the West German accession to NATO and the establishment of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, professional military training of Polish troops has become as important as political training. The sixties marked a period of intensive modernization for the Polish Armed Forces. Since the Czechoslovak crisis, Polish military policy is increasingly preoccupied with domestic security.

1618
Griffiths, Eldon, and Michael Niblock. ANGLO-FRENCH NUCLEAR DETERRENT? Atlantic Community quarterly, v. 8, summer 1970: 196-209.
D839.A85, v. 8

Prepared for and published originally by the Conservative Party in Great Britain.

America's traumatic experience in Vietnam and the negative effect that overseas military expenditures are having on the U.S. balance of payments are moving America toward a policy of "limited commitments." Europeans must respond to the challenge of a lower American profile by pooling their resources and deploying their armed forces to maintain a credible defense against the Soviet bloc. Progress toward a distinctively European element within NATO has depended upon the French attitude; thus French interest in working with Great Britain in nuclear defense may justify cautious optimism. An Anglo-French nuclear deterrent within the alliance structure would meet America's demand that Europeans assume a greater responsibility for the defense of Europe, would consolidate NATO by strengthening militarily the European pillar vis-a-vis the United States, and would become a positive factor in the development of European unity. Great Britain must become a member of the European Economic Community, France must return to an alliance in which European members will have a larger say, and a "European" controlled deterrent must emerge. Otherwise, America will continue to be Europe's nuclear ruler, a role that Europeans dislike and Americans want to relinquish. If Great Britain and France hope to continue realistically as nuclear powers into the next decade, they must collaborate on nuclear defense.

1619
Habib-Deloncle, Michel. [THE POSSIBILITIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE POLICY IN THE FRENCH VIEW] Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten der europäischen Verteidigungspolitik aus französischer Sicht. Wehrkunde, v. 19, Feb. 1970: 63-66.
U3.W396, v. 19

Paper presented at the seventh International Wehrkunde Meeting, held in Munich, Feb. 7-8, 1970.

After a kind of nuclear parity was established between the United States and the Soviet Union, America, in line with its own interests, adopted a flexible response doctrine, which assigned Europe the role of a conventional battlefield. In NATO defense policy since the Cuban crisis, the interests of the Soviet-American condominium have

taken precedence over the essential needs of "European defense." Since America now wants its allies to take their defense mainly in their own hands, the European NATO members should feel free to pursue European unification as their most important long-range foreign policy goal. Their defense concepts, based on this goal, would naturally differ from those of the Atlantic alliance. In the absence of a common European policy the concept of defending Western Europe against Soviet Communist expansion remains one of many hypotheses around which a certain defense and foreign policy can be built. Its common examination outside NATO by the European governments can mark the first step toward a common formulation of a truly independent European foreign policy. The integration of West European national defense forces must be ruled out, not merely for the present lack of a common foreign policy but because no important nuclear force lends itself to integration as proved by NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Instead of integration, the West European countries should put their nuclear and conventional forces in the service of their common strategy, but each must retain the right to decide on their actual use. In the case of nuclear weapons the decision must remain national even if they are to be used for tactical purposes.

1620
Harrison, Stanley L. EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES, AND NATO. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, June 1970: 43-54. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 50

The strategic arms limitation talks, the proposed European security conference, and West Germany's unilateral initiative toward the East foreshadow a new European environment that will challenge NATO's unity and America's role in the alliance. In Europe, the relaxed military attitude toward NATO has prompted a feeling that the organization needs revision, doubts are replacing confidence in a continued U.S. involvement, and "pragmatic realities have prompted a turning inward within the nations." Domestic priorities and the slowdown during administrative transition will retard the trend toward NATO unity or large military enterprises. This new mood can be evaluated from the viewpoint of the major European alliance members. Great Britain's perception of its present role wavers between isolationism and total participation, France pursues hegemony despite De Gaulle's departure, and West Germany continues its unilateral pursuit of détente while "the symbols of dependence on the allies in Europe and the United States are dropping away." West European countries agree that there should be greater independence from the United States, and proposals for a European defense force are met with increasing favor. Conflicts in the interests and concepts of the NATO partners will continue to vex alliance solidarity, and these differences will have be weighed carefully by President Nixon in restructuring the failing alliance.

1621
Hartley, Livingston. NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY, 1969. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 7, winter 1969/1970: 525-529. D839.A85, v. 7
From a report to the Committee on the North Atlantic Assembly of the Atlantic Council.

Summarizes the North Atlantic Assembly's debate on the reports and recommendations of the Political and Military Committees on the reduction of NATO forces in Europe. The Political Committee recommended that the Canadian forces withdrawn from Europe be replaced and advocated greater collaboration between the European members of the organization. The Military Committee called on members to maintain forces at a level that would effectively implement the flexible response strategy and stressed that unilateral reductions weaken NATO's security and the prospects for mutual force reductions with the Warsaw Pact. The Assembly adopted a resolution proposed by Congressman Wayne Hays that urged the United States to seek an arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union.

1622
Healey, Denis W. [interview] THINKING ABOUT THE UNTHINKABLE. Listener, v. 83, Apr. 23, 1970: 538-540. AP4.L4165, v. 83
Interviewed by Laurence Martin.

Replies to questions on NATO strategy. Healey expresses his opinion on the feasibility of a conventional defense against a large-scale Soviet invasion, the probability of a conventional attack, and adequate conventional force levels. He discusses Soviet and NATO strategy, pointing out the role of tactical nuclear weapons; questions the validity of arguments favoring the denuclearization of central Europe; and speculates on the final objective of the expanding Soviet strategic nuclear weapons programs, the outcome of the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT), and the effects of the changing U.S.-Soviet strategic balance and SALT on European security and the arms race.

1623
Heiman, Leo. UNCOMMITTED ARMIES. Ordnance, v. 54, Mar./Apr. 1970: 496-500. illus.
UF1.067, v. 54

Appraises the organization, training, and basic weaponry of the armed forces of Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, Austria, and Yugoslavia.

1624
Hinterhoff, Eugène. NATO AND SPAIN. NATO's fifteen nations, v. 15, Apr./May 1970: 66-70. illus. UA646.F5, v. 15

Argues for the admission of Spain to NATO. Spain, which in time of war could field as many as 40 divisions, is the only remaining untapped source of conventional forces in Europe. Its admission to NATO would partially offset threatened U.S. troop withdrawals, would make the flexible response strategy more realistic, and

could be used as an aid in overcoming Soviet resistance to balanced, mutual force reductions in Europe. The Soviet Union is making its own overtures to Spain, and the reception so far has not been totally unsympathetic.

1625
Hinterhoff, Eugène. THE SOVIET THREAT SINCE CZECHOSLOVAKIA. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, June 1970: 68-73. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 50

The East-West balance of power is shifting against the background of détente. Since the invasion of Czechoslovakia the Soviet Union has engaged in a relentless buildup of its nuclear and naval forces to achieve a first-strike capability and envelop NATO's flanks. Further, the Soviet penetration into Algeria, together with the loss of the U.S. Air Force base in Libya, has great implications: should the Russians acquire the use of airbases in these countries, "it could affect dramatically the existing naval balance of power in the Mediterranean." Positive developments like Belgium's decision not to withdraw its four mechanized battalions and Gen. Michel Fourquet's rejection of the "all-azimuth defense" are outweighed by the general trend in NATO. If NATO forces are reduced there will be alternatives: to station Turkish troops in West Germany or admit Spain to the alliance. Until the Gibraltar problem is settled, Spain's admission must be ruled out, but the dismissal of the Spanish Foreign Minister, known for his militancy over Gibraltar, could justify an assumption that Spain might be ready for a compromise.

1626
Hirschfeld, Oswald. [A BETTER ARMY FOR LESS MONEY] Bessere Bundeswehr für weniger Geld. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 14, Mar. 1970: 114-115.
U3.W38, v. 14

The American foreign policy for the 1970's now being articulated ascribes to European security the most important factor in preserving world peace. In view of the Congressional drive to limit military expenditures, the European allies must contribute supplementary funds and personnel. However Europeans should realize that this contribution in itself will not augment European influence within the alliance, in which the American nuclear presence remains the cardinal fact. American withdrawal should not be compensated for by increased Bundeswehr participation, which is not wished by the Germans themselves. Critics of the German contribution to NATO, who dismiss as insufficient a defense budget that is 3.2 percent of the gross national product, ignore the fact that this percentage relationship is more than doubled if the cost of veterans' pensions is included. Proposals envisaging a volunteer professional army reinforced by a kind of militia should be given serious study by the makers of German military policy.

1627
Höpker, Wolfgang. [HOW RED IS THE MEDITERRANEAN? THE ENDANGERED SOUTHERN FLANK OF EUROPE] Wie rot ist das Mittelmeer? Europas gefährdete Südflanke. Nachwort von Hans Speidel. Stuttgart, Seewald [1968] 164 p. maps.
DE100.H6

Contents.--About this book.--The bear can swim. --Between Gibraltar and Caucasus.--The eastern Mediterranean, storm corner of world politics.--North Africa, Europe's opposite shore.--The Mediterranean in Western defense plans.--Thoughts on the defense of Europe; a postcript by Hans Speidel.--Appendix.

Considers Soviet naval and political expansion into the Mediterranean of great historical importance as a manifestation of Russian imperialistic policy and a realization of Moscow's age-old dream. Höpker traces the developments that led to the expansion, discusses the role of littoral states in the consolidation of the Soviet presence in the area, and points to the underestimation by the West of the degree to which the Soviet presence threatens West European security.

1628
Huck, Arthur. THE SECURITY OF CHINA; CHINESE APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS OF WAR AND STRATEGY. New York, Columbia University Press for the Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 1970. 93 p. maps.
UA839.3.H8
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--Chinese outlooks.--Threats to China.--War and politics.--Nuclear weapons.--Beyond Mao.

Discusses the Communist Chinese perspective on domestic and international factors affecting China's security. Huck observes that China's basic sense of insecurity stems from its experience of Western and Japanese imperialism during the past century, the prolonged and bitter civil war, the country's lack of clearly defined and demarcated borders, the enormous problems generated by the attempt to modernize and industrialize an underdeveloped agricultural country, and China's vulnerability to nuclear attack by the Soviet Union and the United States. China is militarized but not militaristic, and its military strategy is necessarily defensive. It calls for worldwide revolution but insists that revolutionary movements rely on their own sources of strength. China cannot become a nuclear superpower in the near future, but it may develop a minimal deterrent force. The problem of finding a successor to Mao is aggravated by serious internal disputes and the threat of regionalism.

1629
IN THE SOVIET UNION 'HAWKS AND 'DOVES' ARE BIRDS OF A FEATHER. Air Force and space digest, v. 53, July 1970: 37-38. UG633.A65, v. 53
"An Air Force Magazine Special Report."

It is demonstrably and dangerously wrong to assume that a policy split exists between the armed forces and the civilian Party hierachy in the Soviet Union. Civilian-military conflicts on major issues of military policy do not exist since military leaders play an integral and powerful role in the monolithic political structure. This union of civilian and military elements in government rests on Communist Party membership. In 1966, 90 percent of the officer corps belonged either to the Party or the Komsomol (the figure for all ranks is 83 percent.) Although disputes have arisen over doctrine and strategy, they have been resolved within the authoritative structure of the Party. Those who pin their hopes for peace on a split between Party and military leaders are chasing a will-o'-the-wisp. The Soviet military and its methods are the creations of civilian-military cooperation in a monolithic power structure that gives every evidence of enduring.

1630
Kalckreuth, Jürg von. [RELATIVE FORCE CAPABILITIES OF NATO AND THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION--PROBLEMS OF SYSTEMATIC ANALYSES] Streitkräftevergleich NATO-Warschauer Pakt--Probleme systematischer Analysen. Wehrkunde, v. 19, Feb. 1970: 71-74. U3.W396, v. 19

Criticizes the methodology of NATO studies on the relative force capabilities of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization and underlines the need for more reliable methods of analysis and comparison of data.

1631
Kielmansegg, Johann A., Graf. WHAT'S TO BECOME OF NATO? Aussenpolitik; German foreign affairs review, v. 21, no. 1, 1970: 25-41.
Ser
English-language version of an article in the March 1970 issue of Aussenpolitik.
D839.A885, v. 21

The future of NATO, both the Alliance and the organization the Alliance created for itself, is one of the ever-present responsibilities of the participating governments, and its proper functioning is Europe's pledge of security. The author examines its dominants and constants in the field of integration and strategy and the variable factors internally or externally affecting the degree to which Western Europe's security is guaranteed. For this, the ideas of the European NATO members about closer cooperation will be of great significance. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1632
Kissinger, Henry A. THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 7 p.
UA23.K489
At head of title: 91st Congress, 2d session. Committee print.
"Submitted by the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations (pursuant to S. Res. 311, 91st Cong.) to the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate."
Includes bibliographical references.

Reply to Senator Henry Jackson outlining the role of the NSC (National Security Council) in Presidential decisionmaking together with an enclosure discussing the NSC's functions and purposes.

1633
Krulak, Victor H. WHAT THE SEVENTIES HOLD FOR THE MARINE CORPS. Navy, v. 13, May 1970: 12-16. illus. VA49.N28, v. 13

Predicts that the international environment in the 1970's will differ little from that of the immediate past, with the consequence that the need for the Marine Corps, which, in conjunction with the Navy, has a unique capability to intervene rapidly in overseas crisis situations, will be as great as ever. Krulak examines some of the main problems of economy, combat readiness, innovation, and personnel management that the Corps will have to face in order to meet its obligations in the seventies.

1634
Kursener, J. [THE AMERICAN ARMY IN EUROPE.] Die US Army in Europa. Schweizer Soldat: Wehrzeitung, v. 45, May 1970: 13-16. illus.
U3.S23, v. 45
Outlines the mission, administrative subordination, structure, provision and supply organization, and expenditures of the American Army in Europe.

1635
Kyle, Keith. [THE DEFENCE OF THE REALM] Listener, v. 83, Mar. 12, 1970: 333-334.
AP4.L4165, v. 83

Discusses the controversy within NATO over the use of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons and concludes that a coherent military doctrine is essential.

1636
Laird, Melvin R. NATIONAL PRIORITIES: ARE WE TO BECOME A 2ND RATE POWER? Vital speeches of the day, v. 36, May 15, 1970: 452-456.
PN6121.V52, v. 36
Delivered at the annual Associated Press luncheon, New York, Apr. 20, 1970.

Promises "restoration of credibility in the Department of Defense" through a more open news policy and reviews the growth of Soviet strategic weapons since 1965. Laird affirms the support of the Department of Defense and the military for President Nixon's efforts to reach agreement at the strategic arms limitation talks but contends that deployment of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles and the Safeguard ABM system, both of which are weapons programs begun during the previous administration, cannot safely be delayed any longer.

1637
Lekić, Danilo. THE DEFENCE OF INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY IN CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS; ON THE CONCEPT OF THE GENERAL PEOPLE'S DEFENCE IN YUGOSLAVIA. Review of international affairs, v. 21, Apr. 20, 1970: 3-6.
D839.R4, v. 21

Yugoslavia's "wealth of experience" has taught it to appreciate the importance of reliance on its own forces. The nonalined countries will find their defense not in one or the other of the military blocks but in the patriotism of their own citizens and the goodwill of the world's peace-loving people. Repeated recent instances of military and political victories by anticolonial movements and by countries attacked by technically superior forces prove the emergence of a new phenomenon: the people as a military force. There are indications today that the great military alliances are built on shifting sands. Its people's army and popular defense will ensure the viability of Yugoslav nonalinement.

1638
Lowenstein, James G., and Richard M. Moose. VIETNAM: DECEMBER 1969. A STAFF REPORT PREPARED FOR THE USE OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, UNITED STATES SENATE. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 18 p.
DS557.A6L67
At head of title: 91st Congress, 2d session. Committee print.

Edited version of "a personal and confidential report on the progress of pacification, the prospects for Vietnamization, the domestic political situation [in Vietnam] and the outlook for negotiations," based on a visit to Vietnam in December 1969. The authors conclude that the prospects for Vietnamization and the achievement of stability under the Thieu administration are at best uncertain and that there is no assurance that enemy forces will not be able to inhibit and disrupt these programs.

1639
McClintock, Robert. AN AMERICAN OCEANIC DOCTRINE. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 96, Feb. 1970: 47-57.
V1.U8, v. 96

Argues for a more vigorous effort by the United States to maintain its preponderance at sea and proposes a three-pronged approach to U.S. maritime renovation. The United States must improve its antisubmarine warfare and ship-to-ship missile capabilities, bring its merchant marine within the framework of a single integrated land-sea [illegible] portation system, and support oceanograph[illegible] grams and efforts to secure the freedom [illegible] the seas under international control.

1640
Mahncke, Dieter. [THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND EUROPEAN SECURITY] Atlantische Allianz und europäische Sicherheit. Schweizer Monatshefte, v. 50, Apr. 1970: 29-35.
AP32.S47, v. 50

In the seventies East-West European relations will move toward détente and unification. As long as Soviet aggression threatens Europe, NATO must retain its defensive capability and prevent Soviet political supremacy. West European security requires the maintenance of an adequate conventional force and an adjusted American military presence in Europe, since a shortage of manpower, as well as possible adverse effects on Bonn's Eastern policy, prevent the German Federal Republic from increasing its own military forces. Economic considerations prevent other West European countries from increasing their forces as well. West European security against conventional attack can be sought by NATO on three levels: European countries can assume some of the costs of keeping American troops in Europe, possibly through balance-of-payment agreements; the European partners can cooperate more on defense and armament policies through an improved European consultation mechanism like the European Caucus; and a mutual and balanced force reduction can be achieved in central Europe. Premature reduction of American troops in Europe would make it more difficult for NATO to reach an equitable agreement with Moscow on mutual force reductions. Reductions should be symmetrical and politically determined since NATO's defense capability and the resolution of conflict and threat situations are directly related. Soviet proposals dealing with Europe have aimed at consolidating Soviet hegemony instead of solving the basic political and military problems of European security.

1641
Mander, Jack. THE BRITISH BACKLASH. New leader, v. 53, Mar. 16, 1970: 8-9.
HX1.N37, v. 53

The Nixon doctrine enunciated at Guam places in doubt the credibility of a continued American military presence in Europe. The European nations are unable or unwilling to spend more on defense, partly because they think that a Russian attack is not imminent, partly because they are still imbued with "the heart-warming certainties of the Truman-Dulles era." In their reliance on American arms, the British have abolished the draft, leaving themselves with no viable nonnuclear option. Optimism about the disarmament negotiations is unjustified: the Czech intervention proved to the Russians again their need for conventional forces. When the Americans go, more troops for Europe must mean more German troops. Nixon's America may find that its preoccupation with internal disorders is endangering the nations that look to it for support.

1642
Mansfield, Mike. AND NOW ANOTHER VIEW. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 8, spring 1970: 13-16.
D839.A85, v. 8
"Speech delivered before the U.S. Senate." Second article in a section entitled "American Forces in Europe--the Pros and Cons."

Mr. Elliot Richardson's speech of January 20, 1970, in which he explained why the administration opposes the Mansfield resolution's call for the reduction of U.S. forces in Europe, demands a reply. The resolution does not call for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Europe, nor is it meant to encourage the view that NATO's work is over. It does not imply that the United States will not meet its commitments to NATO and does not require "sudden" or "dramatic" force reductions. Sponsors of the resolution believe that it will result in substantial savings to the United States and that, unless means are found to escape from the impasse reached on the question of balanced, mutual force reductions, the United States will be committed to present force levels in perpetuity. The sponsors do not wish to see West Germany increase its military commitments; they wish only to see it fulfill the commitments it has already assumed. It is odd that Europe, with a booming economy and a population of 250 million, cannot defend itself against the Soviet Union, which, out of a population of only 200 million, must provide for defense on two fronts. The problem is that the status quo in U.S. troop deployments to Europe "has made the Europeans less interested in their own defense, has distorted the relationship between Europe and the United States, and has resulted in a drain on our resources which has adversely affected our ability to deal with the urgent problems we face at home."

1643
Marey, Georges. [GREAT BRITAIN 1970] Angleterre 1970. Revue militaire générale; general military review, Mar. 1970: 373-385.
U2.R48, 1970
Includes summaries in English and German.

Great Britain's withdrawal East of Suez, an economic measure to save the pound sterling, should be completed in Malaysia, Singapore, and the Persian Gulf by the end of 1971. Hong Kong, however, will increase its 8,500-man garrison for economic reasons. The withdrawal will leave a great void in the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and it is feared that the vacuum will be filled by the Soviet Union or Communist China. ALthough Great Britain will continue to be a member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, the amount of military aid it will be able to contribute is unclear; thus the British Commonwealth countries in the area will have to rely on the United States. As a result of its political and military withdrawal, Great Britain will concentrate on becoming a member of the European community, but this task will not be easy.

1644
Mariakhin, S. [interview] FOR LIFE, FOR SUCCESS IN BATTLE. Soviet military review, Mar. 1970: 48-51. illus.
U1.S7, 1970

Answers to questions on the importance of the zone of the interior and the war activity and postwar development of the logistic agencies of the Soviet Army.

1645
Mendel, Douglas. A NATION AGAINST ARMS. Far Eastern economic review, v. 68, Mar. 26, 1970: 35-36.
HC411.F18, v. 68

Summarizes the results of a recent national poll of Japanese attitudes on future defense options, which shows that the vast majority of the voting public is opposed to either heavy rearmament or foreign military commitments. The Japanese are moderately in favor of automatic extension of the U.S.-Japan security treaty but are generally opposed to American military bases in Japan. "If the Japanese public has any impact on Tokyo policy, no Asian nation should expect or fear Japanese militarism in the near future."

1646
National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C. CIVIL DEFENSE: LITTLE HARBOR REPORT. A report to the Atomic Energy Commission by a committee of the National Academy of Sciences. [Oak Ridge, Tenn.] U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Division of Technical Information, 1969. 53 p.
UA927.N25

Contents.--Foreword.--Preface.--Introduction and summary.--Changes in strategic outlook.--New weapons and weapons effects.--Immediate survival.--Recovery.--Education and training.--Acceptance of civil defense programs.--The threat.

Reevaluates the conclusions of the original Project Harbor study (cited as item 1250 in v. 2, no. 3, of this bibliography), lists the most important changes in the military and political situation, and describes new weapons systems like the ABM and multiple independent reentry vehicles and their effects on civil defense problems.

1647
A NEW AGE IN JAPAN-U.S. SECURITY TIES. Japan quarterly, v. 17, Jan./Mar. 1970: 3-6.
DS801.J274, v. 17

Many Japanese are concerned that the promised return of Okinawa to Japanese control in 1972 may also mark a strengthening of Japanese-U.S. security ties. The joint communique issued by Prime Minister Sato and President Nixon provides for the removal of all nuclear weapons from Okinawa prior to its reversion to Japanese control, but Japanese opposition parties fear that such weapons may be brought in again during an emergency and that the Japanese mainland and Okinawa may be used as U.S. military bases in the event of prolongation of the Vietnam War or conflicts involving South Korea or Taiwan. The United States may have pressured Japan to accept these conditions, or the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party of Prime Minister Sato may have used the Okinawa negotiations to realize its goal of a more active Japanese role in Asian security.

1648
Norman, Lloyd. WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE MISSILE GAP? National guardsman, v. 24, May 1970: 2-7. illus. UA42.N24, v. 24

Compares the strategic relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Eisenhower and Nixon administrations, particularly with regard to an alleged missile gap. Norman notes the similarities between Eisenhower's policy of "more bang for a buck" and Nixon's efforts to reduce defense spending, on the one hand, and Dulles' doctrine of massive retaliation and Nixon's doctrine of providing a nuclear shield for U.S. allies. Nixon's efforts to find a strategy that will avoid susceptibility to Soviet nuclear blackmail without opening a costly new round in the arms race are complicated by Pentagon estimates that a new missle gap may be in the offing.

1649
Paone, Rocco M. MILITARY AID TO TURKEY: 1947-50. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, June 1970: 74-79. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 50

Examines the U.S. military assistance program to Turkey during the postwar era. Turkey asked for assistance because of the Soviet threat, and the United States, for the first time in its history, agreed to aid a nation that was neither at war internally nor with another country. A breakdown of the U.S. mission's findings is given.

1650
Perret-Gentil, Jacques. [THE FRENCH ARMY; SEEN FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF] Die französische Armee; gesehen vom Blickpunkt der Generalstabschefs [by] J. Pergent. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 8, Mar./Apr. 1970: 119-122. U3.034, v. 8

Notes the consolidation of the administrative responsibility and authority of the French General Staff over the individual arms and services, particularly in regard to nuclear armament. The ground forces apparently are the least well provided for in the expenditure of approximately a quarter of the entire military budget for nuclear weapons.

1651
Plischke, Elmer. WEST GERMAN FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY. Orbis, v. 12, winter 1969: 1098-1136. illus. D839.068, v. 12

Reviews the postwar development of West German defense policy, the internal and external factors influencing West German foreign and defense policies, the organizational framework in which these policy decisions are made, and the policy options available to West Germany at present and in the foreseeable future. Plischke rejects three possible national security policies, neutralization and disarmament, armed nonalinement, and a West European coalition excluding the United States, as undesirable or unreliable, and favors a continuation of the present policy of integration in a Western alliance including the United States. He discusses various suboptions within this preferred policy in the context of West Germany's pursuit of reunification, peace, and security.

1652
Powell, Ralph L. THE PARTY, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE GUN. Asian survey, v. 10, June 1970: 441-471. DS1.A492, v. 10
Bibliographical footnotes.

During the cultural revolution in China, the Communist Party was thoroughly purged to revitalize it and make it subject to the will of Mao Tsetung. Once the civil party machinery had been effectively disrupted, the Maoists initiated the reconstruction process under the auspices of the Army-dominated revolutionary committees, which leads some specialists to believe that the party apparatus in the armed forces is playing the primary role in reorganizing the civilian party. The Party organization of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and party members in the revolutionary committees took the lead in selecting the delegates to the Ninth Party Congress and in drafting the new party constitution, which gave more prominence to the PLA than the previous one. Although most senior military officers would accept party control as long as they play a leading role in the party, although the new constitution reaffirms the supremacy of the party over military affairs, and although Lin Piao is the only party-soldier on the Standing Committee of the Politburo, yet the membership of the Central Committee clearly demonstrates the increased political power of the military. Of 21 regular members of the Politburo, 11 are military men and half are concurrently members of the Party's military planning and supervisory organ. Party reorganization has progressed slowly, and there are indications of political-military friction, but civilian cadres are in no position to challenge the new influence of the armed forces. "In toto, it appears that the military have been seeking to consolidate their great new political power by controlling a reconstructed Communist Party." The PLA is also supervising most ministries and commissions under the State Council. Its power has increased greatly, yet military leaders have not become politically independent warlords. If, as is likely, Mao dies before a stable and united party and government can be reestablished, then a Communist military regime may emerge. "We may be confronted by a situation in which a reorganized Party still controls the gun, but only because the generals control the Party."

1653
Pritt, Denis N. UNREPENTANT AGGRESSORS; AN EXAMINATION OF WEST GERMAN POLICIES. Berlin, Seven Seas [1969] 235 p. DD259.4.P69 1969b

Contents.--Introduction.--The rulers of West Germany.--Postwar Germany. Gestapo and SS men in West German Government.--Nazi lawyers in West German Government.--Nazi diplomats in West German

Government.--Nazis in the West German Armed Forces.--Education in West Germany.--West German policy.--Remilitarisation and nuclear armament.--The West German Armed Forces.--West Germany provides for dictatorship.--The National Democratic Party of Germany.--Conclusion.--Notes.--Index.

Discusses West German rearmament, remilitarization, and attempts to secure nuclear weapons; claims to "lost territories"; the current role of "seriously incriminated" Nazis in public administration and the armed forces; and legislative efforts to establish a fascist dictatorship and concludes that these developments pose a threat to peace in Europe.

1654
RESOLUTELY SMASH THE AGGRESSIVE U.S.-JAPAN MILITARY ALLIANCE. Peking review, v. 13, June 26, 1970: 24, 31. DS701.P42, v. 13

Editorial published in Renmin Ribao, June 23, 1970.

Denounces the recent extension of the Japanese-American security treaty, charging that it is an unequal treaty imposed on the Japanese people by U.S. imperialism, and that it threatens the peace and security of all countries in the region. The editorial contends that the Americans will attempt to use the Japanese military as a shock force for their aggression in Asia and that Japanese militarism is becoming dangerous. The Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and Indochinese peoples oppose the extension of the treaty system and the revival of a Japanese militarism that will lead Japan once again to catastrophe.

1655
Resor, Stanley R. UNITED STATES FORCES IN EUROPE: MUTUAL REDUCTION. Vital speeches of the day, v. 36, May 15, 1970: 456-459. PN6121.V52, v. 36

Delivered before the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, Los Angeles, Apr. 10, 1970.

The United States must retain its present level of forces in Europe precisely because chances are better than ever for agreement with the Soviet Union on mutual reduction of military forces there. To withdraw U.S. forces prematurely would encourage a new Soviet attempt to dominate Europe through either direct military intervention or less overt forms of coercion. Given the strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union, conventional forces are essential to provide a nonnuclear response to lesser Soviet threats. Withdrawal of U.S. forces would produce relatively insignificant savings and might precipitate a collapse in the will of other NATO countries. The U.S. goal remains mutual force reductions, but "until that goal is achieved, a strong conventional force in Europe remains our soundest investment in national security."

1656
Richards, Ivor. A EUROPEAN DEFENCE POLICY. Survival, v. 12, Mar. 1970: 75-80. U162.S9, v. 12

Paper presented at the seventh International Wehrkunde Meeting, Munich, Feb. 7-8, 1970.
In a section entitled "European Security."
Published in Wehrkunde, v. 19, April 1970. U3.W396, v. 19

The present balance of security in Europe should serve as the backdrop for efforts toward détente because there are no alternatives to the present system. The most difficult question regarding the preservation of this balance is how much progress will be made in limiting nuclear weapons and NATO and Warsaw Pact forces. The force structures that support the balance "are themselves balanced in very different ways, and reflect a marked lack of symmetry." The superpowers have an equal number of ICBM's, but the United States and Great Britain have a marked advantage in seaborne ballistic missiles and long-range bombers. The Warsaw Pact has an advantage in number of tactical aircraft, but NATO's air force has greater range and payload capabilities. Progress in limiting strategic weapons and in mutual force reductions will depend upon the genuine desire of both sides to preserve the balance of security. Internal pressures have pushed the superpowers toward the strategic arms limitation talks, but "the initiation of the talks does not seem to represent any profound change of policy on either side." Although it is not known whether the Russians are seriously interested in balanced force reductions, defense expenditures by the Warsaw Pact from 1968 to 1969 show that it is not relaxing its defense effort. Whatever the trends in the 1970's, European defense policy, from the British point of view, must develop within the framework of the existing alliance and concentrate on practical and functional actions. Moreover, there must be a growing sense of community and agreement so that a European defense "identity" can be achieved within the alliance.

1657
Richardson, Elliot L. U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPEAN SECURITY. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 8, spring 1970: 5-13. D839.A85, v. 8

"Speech delivered before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations" on January 20, 1970.
First article in a section entitled "American Forces in Europe--the Pros and Cons."

NATO's success in providing security for the Western Powers has fostered, on both sides of the Atlantic, a dangerous degree of complacency about alliance affairs, and this attitude has found expression in a call from Senator Mansfield for substantial U.S. troop reductions in Europe. Impartial examination will show, however, that the suppositions upon which U.S. troops were originally committed to Europe are still valid. The effectiveness of flexible response as a deterrent rests on a general conviction that the United States will fulfill its pledge to NATO; the presence of

U.S. troops is a surety for that pledge. Sudden or dramatic troop withdrawals, particularly now, when the strategic arms limitation talks have made West Europeans so uneasy, would undermine U.S. credibility and European stability. The financial gains would be negligible. Moreover, while some European states have not carried a fair share of the defense burdens, there is no guarantee that a U.S. withdrawal would stimulate them to greater effort. If it did so, the results, at least in the case of Germany, might be most unwelcome. The United States favors balanced East-West force reductions and has been studying this problem in some detail, but practical results must wait the establishment of a genuine peace. Meanwhile, the United States continues to support West European integration, seeing no conflict between that goal and an ultimate reconciliation between East and West.

1658
Rostow, Eugene V. THE FUTURE OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. Atlantic community quarterly, v. 7, winter 1969/1970: 467-479.
D839.A85, v. 7

"Memorandum for discussion during the Annual Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association, October 20-24, 1969, at Washington, D. C."

Focuses on commercial and monetary policy and the coordination and harmonization of politicomilitary policies in U.S.-European relations. Active sharing of political and military responsibility could stem the tide of incipient isolationism in the United States, and the integration of some monetary systems could safeguard the gains made by international economic cooperation during the last generation. Consultations and crisis management "will require an intensification of high-level Allied contact at the political level beyond any we have yet known." Rostow asserts that a reduction of tensions in Europe and peaceful coexistence are unlikely in the near future. He judges allied solidarity to be the key to the Atlantic alliance's task of helping "achieve the genuine acceptance of a new system of peace in the world, based on the principles of the United Nations Charter."

1659
Ruge, Friedrich. [MEN AND MATERIEL IN BUILDING THE GERMAN NAVY] Mensch und Material beim Aufbau der Bundesmarine. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 14, Mar. 1970: 122-124. illus.
U3.W38, v. 14

Reviews the period of construction and organization of the German Navy as background for understanding its possibilities and problems in defending NATO's "wet flanks" today. Vice Admiral Ruge points to the division between the civilian technicians and the military as the greatest impediment to orderly growth.

1660
Russett, Bruce M. NATO BURDEN-SHARING: ITS UPS AND DOWNS. America, v. 122, May 30, 1970: 586-587.
BX801.A5, v. 122

Describes problems and relationships common to most major military alliances. "In forming or keeping an alliance with other states and providing them with deterrence, a great power must expect that its allies will spend less on defense than they would in the absence of the protective alliance." While some cuts in the American military presence in Europe are probably inevitable and desirable, drastic reductions would raise fears concerning U.S. intentions. Such action might force the Europeans to adopt new security policies that could include new military efforts, eventual acquisition of nuclear weapons, and diplomatic overtures to the East, but certainly not increased reliance on NATO. Russett doubts that "most Americans would be pleased with the results of the effort."

1661
Schneider, Mark B. MIRV AND ABM: WHY OUR DEFENSES ARE DOWN. National review, v. 22, May 19, 1970: 512-513.
AP2.N3545, v. 22

The United States decided to deploy Safeguard to meet the immediate threat from the Soviet strategic weapons buildup. But for Safeguard, the Russians would be able to destroy almost all of America's ICBM force, leaving only Polaris submarines and heavy bombers to retaliate. With these weapons the United States "would have the power to inflict only about half the damage to the Soviets that two hundred of their smallest ICBMs could inflict on an undefended U.S.," and even this might not be possible if the Russians deploy a moderate level of ABM defense. Safeguard will protect 350 Minuteman II's equipped with warheads 10 times more powerful than the largest Poseidon and will give the United States an important option for maintaining its deterrent capability.

1662
Seamans, Robert C. THE GROWING SOVIET THREAT AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT. Air Force and space digest, v. 53, May 1970: 38-41. illus.
UG633.A65, v. 53

Although the United States will reduce military expenditures as Vietnamization progresses, other security requirements must be fulfilled. America faces a rapidly changing balance of strategic forces, which, if neglected, could greatly increase the risk of nuclear war. While the United States hopes that the strategic arms limitation talks will reduce the danger of attack, it must not limit arms unilaterally in the absence of effective agreements. Although the United States has more submarine-launched ballistic missiles, the Russians lead in ICBM's and have a 2-to-1 missile payload advantage. If the United States does not improve the survivability of its missiles, the Soviet Union's large SS-9's with multiple warheads may soon be capable of destroying most of the U.S.

land-based missile force. The Soviets have already deployed a limited ABM system, thousands of anti-aircraft missile launchers, and approximately 3,000 interceptor aircraft and are pursuing large-scale submarine construction. The United States retains a lead in heavy bombers, but in the last 5 years Soviet space and military research and development programs have been increasing rapidly and may now be greater in absolute terms. If the Soviet Union can achieve technological superiority in addition to its expanding strategic-weapons programs, U.S. national security could be severely jeopardized. To maintain its second-strike capability in light of the mounting Soviet threat, the United States must continue to develop the Safeguard ABM system, new penetration capabilities for Minuteman III and Poseidon, and the new B-1 strategic bomber. "Our strategic programs must be viewed against the background of rapidly growing Soviet capabilities."

1663
'SHAKE-UP' OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN CHINA. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 22, May 5, 1970: 13-14. D839.C87, v. 22
Translated from Pravda, Apr. 5, 1970, and Izvestiia, Apr. 7, 1970.
Slav Rm

Reports the present "putting in order" of party organizations being carried out in Chinese military units as a pretext for the purge of the command staff. At the same time, the army remains the Maoist leadership's main support against the party.

1664
Smart, Ian M. H. [DETERRENCE AND CONTROL OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS] Dissuasion et maîtrise des armements stratégiques. Politique étrangère, v. 35, no. 2, 1970: 159-179.
JX3.P6, v. 35

The strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) that took place in Helsinki in November and December 1969 appear to be a serious attempt to negotiate the end of the arms race. The negotiations will resume in April 1970. Because the talks are secret, which is a condition of their success, one can only guess as to the manner in which they are being conducted. However, it is evident that the development of new arms has frequently been a subject of the talks since they first got underway and that the chances of an accord will depend at the same time on technical factors and on the appreciation by each side of the means available to the other. The determining role of subjective factors in deterrence and the complexity of the "action-reaction" cycle in the arms race make concluding an effective treaty that would fix a limit on offensive and defensive weapons unlikely. In return, SALT can offer the nucleus of a permanent strategic dialog and reinforce a process of mastering weapons development that would permit the exercise of deterrence strategy at minimal cost. (Translation of supplied abstract, modified)

1665
THE SOVIET THREAT TO EUROPE; AN ANALYSIS OF SOVIET POTENTIALS AND INTENTIONS BY EXPERTS OF SIX COUNTRIES [by Alastair Buchan and others] Intro. by Lord St. Oswald. London, Foreign Affairs Pub. Co., 1969. 78 p. illus.
UA770.W4713 1969
Translation of Wie gefährlich ist Moskau für Europa?

Contents.--The Communist military potential in Europe, by Alastair Buchan.--From the American point of view: what can the Soviets do in Europe and what do they want to do?--The Russians in the Mediterranean, by Ugo d'Andrea.--Central Europe, an area of vital importance for détente and security in the whole of Europe, by W. Wierda.--Some aspects of the Soviet Union's ideological and psychological warfare, by Georg Bruderer.--Wait, but be prepared, by Adelbert Weinstein.

British, American, Italian, Dutch, Swiss, and West German views on Soviet military capabilities and policies in Europe.

1666
Speidel, Hans. ADDRESS BEFORE THE ATA ANNUAL CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON. Revue militaire générale; general military review, Mar. 1970: 386-396.
U2.R48, 1970
English, French, and German.

States that Soviet-American negotiations like the strategic arms limitation talks should be conducted in permanent consultation with America's European allies and that the Soviet proposal for a European security conference that would exclude American and Canadian participation is unacceptable for the West. Speidel maintains that NATO's military missions will remain basically unchanged for a long time and that NATO can contribute to East-West détente only if its cohesiveness and defense posture are unimpaired and its second-strike capability is constantly updated. Otherwise, Western efforts toward détente will serve Soviet interests.

1667
Stewart, Michael. BRITAIN, EUROPE AND THE ALLIANCE. Foreign affairs, v. 48, July 1970: 648-659. D410.F6, v. 48

Discusses British policy toward NATO and proposes measures to strengthen the Alliance against a continuing Soviet threat. Stewart contends that "the best if not the only way for Western Europe to pull its weight in the struggle to achieve a balanced and stable partnership with North America and to break down the barriers to East-West understanding is through the progressive construction of a united Europe."

1668
Takazawa, Torao. ON THE LAUNCHING OF AN ARTIFICIAL SATELLITE BY CHINA. Japan Socialist review, no. 201, Apr. 15, 1970: 26.
HX9.J3, 1970

Praises China's succeful space shot but cautions that it is "of serious significance," since its success indicates that China has the capacity to develop ICBM's. Takazawa feels the Liberal Democratic Party and business leaders will now exploit the "China threat" further and move toward nuclearization, overseas troop deployments, and military conscription. The Socialist Party will increase its option. The Socialist Party will increase its opposition to reviving militarism. The party demands that diplomatic relations with China be restored and urges that positive steps be taken on arms limitations by all nations, including China.

1669
Teplinskii, B. SOME ASPECTS OF US GLOBAL STRATEGY. International affairs (Moscow) no. 5, May 1970: 70-75. D839.I465, 1970

The basic politicomilitary strategy of the Nixon administration implies continued expansion of the nuclear arsenal and reinforcement of existing blocs, with some cutbacks in military commitments and greater wariness over participation in local conflicts. The strategy is designed to suppress the national liberation movement and so create and maintain tension all over the world. In addition to expanding its alliance system to the Pacific, the United States is attempting to get its partners to assume the costs. Simultaneously, the Pentagon expands its nuclear program, stockpiles biological and chemical weapons, and subverts science and technology to the uses of American global strategy. The multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle "and the Safeguard system are the two trumps the military-industrial complex hopes to play off to start another round in the arms race." The global nature of the American military effort requires a strategic mobility which the Americans hope to acquire by the two-base concept. The Pentagon preaches strategic inseparability of the oceans and the near-earth space environment and insists on military space research and a Navy second to none. The world looks with hope to the results of the strategic arms limitation talks. "However, President Nixon's recent decision to go ahead with the second stage of Safeguard, the world press believes, will hardly be conducive to a favourable atmosphere."

1670
Thompson, Sir Robert G. K. NO EXIT FROM VIETNAM. New York, D. McKay Co. [1969] 208 p. illus. DS557.A6T56 1969b

Contents.--Preface: 'Come with me into Macedonia.'--Changing the rules.--pt. 1. People's revolutionary war: The aims and the cause. The nature of the war. The strategy of the war. The channels to victory. The strategy of negotiations.--pt. 2. Squaring the error: More of the same. The American aim. The failure of American strategy. One war. You can't change the rules. The end of a climactic year. No exit.--Maps.

Critique of U.S. political and military strategy in Vietnam from 1965 to 1968. Thompson contends that the only realistic choice available to the United States is either to accept defeat, probably in the form of a "camouflaged sell-out," or prepare for "a long haul low cost strategy" that may keep U.S. forces in Vietnam for as long as 10 to 15 years. Only the latter strategy can achieve what he regards as a legitimate goal of U.S. policy: "To establish, at a cost acceptable to the United States, South Vietnam as a free, united and independent country which is politically stable and economically expanding."

1671
U.S. Dept. of the Army. USSR: STRATEGIC SURVEY; A BIBLIOGRAPHY. 1969 ed. Washington [1969] 237 p. 9 fold. col. maps (in pocket) Z2510.3.U5 1969

"DA pamphlet 550-6."

Contents.--pt. 1. Introduction.--pt. II. National policy, strategy, and objectives: Soviet military posture. Soviet Union and the world: foreign policy and international relations. Soviet-Chinese relations: economic and politicomilitary trends and developments. Soviet-American moves toward détente: motives, methods, and results.--pt. III. The Soviet nation: the spectrum of politics, sociology, and economics. The Soviet state: government and party. The land and the people. The sociology of the Soviet way of life. National economy: the myth, the reality, and the potential. The state of Soviet science: cybernetics, space, Arctic research, and oceanography. Russia's historic past and contemporary Soviet historiography.--pt. IV. Aids to further research on the Soviet Union: Source materials.--Appendixes.

One thousand selected and abstracted items covering the period from the last quarter of 1963 through August 1968. Intended to serve the needs of experts with responsibility for policy and strategy, as well as of those who need simple descriptive information. Accordingly the bibliography includes a wide spectrum of materials ranging from purely military to political, economic, and sociological subjects. The 21 appendixes, consisting of charts, maps, and statistical tables, support the main body of the document.

1672
Vohra, Hans R. INDIA'S NUCLEAR POLICY OF THREE NEGATIVES. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, Apr. 1970: 25-27. TK9145.A84, v. 26

With respect to nuclear weapons, India follows a policy of three negatives. It will not sign the nonproliferation treaty (NPT). It will not itself make nuclear weapons. It will not accept security guarantees from the nuclear powers. There are very serious drawbacks to this course. Refusal to sign the NPT is bound to jeopardize foreign assistance to India's peaceful nuclear energy programs. Other types of foreign aid will be endangered as well, and development of the U.S.-Soviet détente will make it impossible to continue the old game of playing one superpower

against the other to maximize economic and military assistance. The security problems are no less serious. Legally, India was probably right to object that the Security Council resolution confining nuclear protection to the states that have signed the NPT amounted to a revision of the U.N. Charter, but it is with political reality, not the law, that India must come to terms. The United Nations, unlike the nuclear powers, has no nuclear umbrella to extend, and the nuclear powers have made it known that only treaty signatories will rate nuclear protection. Indian officials argue that the Security Council resolution is worthless, since the three nuclear powers do not intend to fulfill their obligations anyway. The resolution is important, however, not because of what the three powers actually intend to do, but because of the effect the guarantee will have on the Chinese, who cannot be certain that the guarantors will not retaliate in kind should China launch a nuclear attack on India. The present policy simply reduces the probability of assistance, since it will come only if one of the nuclear powers should choose on its own to assist. This policy of triple denial must be abandoned; the time has come for India to act positively and close at least one of the options that it has kept open.

1673
Wallach, Jehuda L. [ISRAEL'S STRATEGY CONCEPT; FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE TO THE 6-DAY WAR] Zum strategischen Konzept Israels; Von der Staatsgründung bis zum Sechstagekrieg. Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift, v. 8, Mar./Apr. 1970: 128-130. U3.034, v. 8

Sketches the constant factors that determine Israel's military strategy, the military strategy itself, and the execution of the strategy during the 1956 Sinai campaign and the June 1967 war. Wallach contends that the territorial changes resulting from the 6-day war have not altered the essential content of Israeli strategy.

1674
Wells, Ronald A. CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND DUAL BASING. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, Feb. 1970: 88-91. Z6723.U35, v. 50

Questions the practicability of the Reforger (redeployment of forces from Germany), or dual-basing, concept. In accordance with this concept, two of the three brigades of the U.S. 24th Infantry Division were redeployed from West Germany to the United States but kept under the operational control of European commanders and held in readiness for an immediate return to pre-prepared European bases. The secrecy with which the Soviet Union planned and initiated its invasion of Czechoslovakia casts serious doubts on the political and military wisdom of the program, the success of which was predicated in large measure on the expectation that there would always be an adequate "political warning" in advance of an impending crisis.

1675
Wheeler, Earle G. [interview] WHY DEFENSE PLANNERS WORRY. U.S. news & world report, v. 68, Apr. 20, 1970: 34-39. illus. JK1.U65, v. 68

Responds to questions on the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance, the arms limitation talks, new weapons systems, defense spending, public attitudes toward the U.S. military, and the situations in Europe, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East. Wheeler rejects the view that the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle is inherently destabilizing or that its deployment will preclude the negotiation of a useful arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union. His greatest concern at the moment is with the widespread public hostility to the U.S. defense establishment.

1676
Widder, Robert I. LAUNCH ON WARNING; A COUNTER TO THE ARMS RACE. Air university review, v. 21, Jan./Feb. 1970: 95-100. TL501.A5574, v. 21

The multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle poses a serious threat to the U.S. second-strike or assured-destruction capability. Countermeasures, such as expanding the U.S. offensive force, increasing the hardness of missile siloes, or deploying an ABM, are expensive and likely to provoke offsetting Soviet reactions, while the proposal to put the entire U.S. deterrent at sea would be dangerous in its reliance on a single weapon system that might have hidden weaknesses. The best approach to insuring the survival of the U.S. second-strike force would be a publicly proclaimed "launch on warning" strategy. This strategy means that whenever "there is incontrovertible evidence of an attack under way which is sufficiently massive to jeopardize the U.S. second-strike assured-destruction capability, the [U.S. strategic force] will be launched prior to the arrival of this attack." Objections based on moral, legal, political, or strategic grounds do not bear up under close scrutiny or are outweighed by corresponding advantages. The major problems would be technical, involving the development of the requisite detection and command and control systems, but no technological requirement would exceed present capabilities.

1677
WILL DEFENCE BE A GENERAL ELECTION ISSUE? NATO's fifteen nations, v. 15, Apr./May 1970: 12, 14, 16-17. UA646.F5, v. 15

Outlines Conservative Party views on British defense policy. The Conservatives favor proposals to establish a joint security force of British, Australian, New Zealand, Singaporean, and Malaysian troops in Singapore. They would like to see alleged deficiencies in army strength made up and the decision to dispense with aircraft carriers reviewed. They are also worried about the situation at Malta, where the Soviet Union has put in a strong bid for the grant of a naval base.

1678
Williams, Geoffrey. NATURAL ALLIANCE FOR THE WEST: FLEXIBILITY AND GLOBAL SECURITY. London, Atlantic Trade Study, 1969. 109 p.
UA647.W65

Contents.--Preface.--Britain's quandary and international security.--Evolution of post-war British defence policy.--Maritime strategy for peacekeeping role.--Atlanticist period under Labour Government.--Britain stands down.--Strategic implications of British withdrawal.--Europeanist option for Europe's defence.--Atlanticist option for European security.--Political and strategic perspective.

Proposes a solution to "the problem of how to incorporate in the present Eurocentric strategy of the United Kingdom the country's undoubted geopolitical interests outside Europe." The solution advanced would reconcile "Europeanist" and "Atlanticist" preferences in foreign policy and maritime and continental approaches to military strategy, through the mechanism of an open-ended, multilateral free-trade association.

1679
Yoshimura, Toshio. GUNS OF A NEW GENERATION. Far Eastern economic review, v. 68, Apr. 30, 1970: 114-116. illus. HC411.F18, v. 68

Reports the efforts of the Japanese Defense Agency to gain public support for its policies and change the national psychology on defense and assesses current and future military capabilities and expenditures. Japan's defense plans have been structured to enable the Self-Defense Forces to hold against a foreign invasion for 2 weeks, but under the new defense plan the estimated holding period will be a month. While the public is not in favor of constitutionally altering the purely defensive nature of the armed forces, successive governments have interpreted the antiwar clauses of the Constitution as meaning that Japan has the right to defend itself but not deploy troops abroad or maintain offensive weapons. As long as the regional and global security situation remains stable, the Government will maintain this position.

1680
Zhigulenkov, G. V. THOUSANDS OF MILLIONS FOR ARMAMENTS. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 16, June 2, 1970: pt. 2, [item] 2, 1-2.
Slav Rm
Translated from Izvestiia, June 1, 1970.
Slav Rm

The white paper outlining West Germany's military program for the 1970's shows Bonn's eagerness to expand the arms race in every possible way. In addition to calling for great expansion of conventional weapons, the white paper directly states that the Bundeswehr "must be equipped with the means to deliver nuclear weapons." Progressive Germans are demanding restriction of the army's influence and reduction of military expenditures as a prerequisite for European security.

CONSEQUENCES OF NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICIES AND WAR

Biological

1681
ANOTHER HERBICIDE ON THE BLACKLIST. Nature (London) v. 226, Apr. 25, 1970: 309-311.
Q1.N2, v. 226

Background report on the U.S. decision to restrict use of the herbicide 2,4,5-T, a chemical that is used widely in civilian applications in the United States and in the military defoliation program in Vietnam. The restrictions apply to domestic users only, but the Defense Department has "asked those responsible for defoliation in Vietnam to pay heed to the findings which have now come to light." Since it now appears that many of the teratogenic effects that earlier were attributed to 2,4,5-T were caused by a contaminant contained therein, since these effects have varied from species to species among the limited number of laboratory animals that have been used in testing the chemical, and since it is yet to be demonstrated that 2,4,5-T or the contaminant have reached significant levels of concentration in any domestic food source, the decision remains highly controversial and may be appealed by one of the principle manufacturers, the Dow Chemical Company.

1682
BIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE NUCLEAR AGE. Proceedings of a symposium held at Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Livermore, California, March 5-7, 1969. [Oak Ridge, Tenn.] U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Division of Technical Information, [available from Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Springfield, Va.] 1969. 341 p. illus. (AEC symposium series, 16)
RA569.B52

"CONF-690303."
"Sponsored by the Bio-Medical Division, Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, and U.S. Atomic Energy Commission."
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Foreword.--Preface.--The atom's expanding role in the medical world, by Glenn T. Seaborg.--Perspectives: Objectives of biomedical research in relation to atomic energy, by John R. Trotter. Planned applications of peaceful nuclear explosives, by Glenn C. Werth. Application of basic radiation protection criteria, by Herbert M. Parker.--Release and distribution of radionuclides in the biosphere: Estimation of the maximum dose to man from the contamination of an aquatic ecosystem with radionuclides, by Arthur R. Tamplin. Estimation of the maximum dose to man from the fallout of radionuclides on agricultural land, by Yook C. Ng. Radioactive pollution of the atmosphere, by Joshua Z. Holland. Reactor releases of radionuclides, by R. L. Junkins. United Kingdom studies on radioactive materials released in the marine environment, by H. J. Dunster.--Presence

and persistence of radionuclides; possible countermeasures against harmful consequences of radionuclide contamination: Persistence of radionuclides at sites of nuclear detonations, by John J. Koranda and John R. Martin. Radionuclides in food, by John H. Harley. Status of remedial measures against environmental radiocontamination, by C. L. Comar and J. C. Thompson, Jr.--Effects of radiation in man and animals; relations among radiation, viruses, and other environmental hazards; repair of radiation damage: Some biological effects of radiation in relation to other environmental agents, by Norton Nelson. Effects of single or fractionated X irradiation and of bone-seeking radionuclides on mammals; a review, by Leo K. Bustad. Factors affecting the radiation induction of mutations in the mouse, by William L. Russell. Late effects of external irradiations in animals and the prediction of low-dose effects, by Douglas Grahn. Radiation repair mechanisms in mammalian cells, by J. E. Cleaver. Delayed radiaeffects among Japanese survivors of the atomic bombs, by Robert W. Miller. Radiation and virus interactions in leukemogenesis, by Henry S. Kaplan.--Closing remarks, by John W. Gofman.--List of attendees.--Index.

1683
Bloom, Arthur D., and others. CHROMOSOME ABERRATIONS AND MALIGNANT DISEASE AMONG A-BOMB SURVIVORS. American journal of public health and the Nation's health, v. 60, Apr. 1970: 641-644.
RA421.A41, v. 60

Argues that approximately 50 percent of the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki exposed to over 100 rad will have chromosome aberrations "capable of producing distinct subpopulations of cytogenetically aberrant cells in vivo," the proportion varying according to dosage and age.

1684
Boffey, Philip M. HIROSHIMA/NAGASKI: ATOMIC BOMB CASUALTY COMMISSION PERSEVERES IN SENSITIVE STUDIES. Science, v. 168, May 8, 1970: 679-683.
Q1.S35, v. 168

Surveys the history, management, scope, and character of investigations and major findings of the joint U.S.-Japan Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC), a research organization established to determine the long-term effects of the atomic bombings. Although no unknown new diseases have been discovered, the incidence of some known diseases was clearly increased by exposure to the bomb. "The findings have been 'grim beyond doubt, yet not as grim as many had feared.'" However, the final results have not yet been obtained. While the ABCC's studies have been criticized on scientific, political, and emotional grounds, most Japanese and American experts accept the validity of its findings and emphasize that this work should be continued until the full effects of the bombings have been outlined.

1685
Dmitrieva, G. V., JU. V. Krasnopevtsev, and S. G. Malakhov. SOME PECULIARITIES OF FISSION PRODUCT CONCENTRATION DISTRIBUTIONS OVER OCEANS IN THE TROPICAL ZONE AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH ATMOSPHERIC PROCESSES. Journal of geophysical research, v. 75, June 20, 1970: 3675-3685.
QC811.J6, v. 75

New data on the latitude distribution of radioactive fission products over oceans in regions of the tropical zone are given for the period 1967 to 1968. The data show a considerable heterogeneity of radioactive fission products in air in the tropical zone over the Indian Ocean and in the Western Pacific Ocean. This heterogeneity is explained by intrusion into the tropical zone of parcels of more radioactive air from subtropical temperate latitudes of the winter hemisphere behind quasi-meridional cold fronts. The radioactive air entered the equatorial region and, under certain synoptic conditions, moved across the equator into the air circulation of the opposite hemisphere. Air transfer from the southern to the northern hemisphere is presumably assisted by typhoons that have been transformed into large-scale cyclones over the Pacific Ocean. (Abstract supplied)

1686
Ehhalt, D. H., and G. Haumacher. THE SEASONAL VARIATION IN THE CONCENTRATION OF STRONTIUM 90 IN RAIN AND ITS DEPENDENCE ON LATITUDE. Journal of geophysical research, v. 75, May 20, 1970: 3027-3031.
QC811.J6, v. 75

Seasonal variations in strontium-90 deposition averaged over latitudinal belts 10° wide were calculated from the monthly means obtained from the Health and Safety Laboratory rainfall network and averaged over four years, 1963-1966 inclusive. Similar calculations were made for the ^{90}Sr concentration in rain and a deposition corrected for the seasonal variation in rainfall. In the northern hemisphere the seasonal variation of the ^{90}Sr concentration and the rainfall corrected deposition exhibit the same systematic trend. A southern mode, which has reached a maximum ^{90}Sr deposition in March, seems to exist, as well as a northern mode which does not reach a maximum before June. The seasonal variations at intermediate latitudes change gradually from one pattern to the other. (Abstract supplied)

1687
ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS OF WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY. [By] Michael McClintock [and others. New York] Scientists' Institute for Public Information [c1970] 32 p. illus. (A Scientists' Institute for Public Information workshop)
UG447.8.E57

Contents.--Introduction, by Barry Commoner.--Environmental effects of weapons technology, by Michael McClintock.--One year of CBW, by Susan Zolla.--Chemical weapons: what they are, what they do, by Victor W. Sidel and Robert M. Goldwyn.

--Dare we develop biological weapons, by Seymour M. Hersh.--Mission to Vietnam, by E. W. Pfeiffer and G. H. Orians.--War on future generations? by Bryce Nelson.--From the United Nations report on chemical and biological weapons.--The secret weapons, by Virginia Brodine.--From the United Nations report on nuclear weapons.--Suggested reading.

Examines the environmental effects of nuclear tests, chemical and biological weapons, and herbicides. The authors note the numerous accidents and near accidents involving these weapons and the difficulties in controlling their testing and use in warfare.

1688
Gascoyne, Steve. HOW I LEARNED TO LIVE WITH RADIOACTIVITY AND LOVE IT--IN COLORADO. Commonweal, v. 42, Mar. 13, 1970: 7-9.
AP2.C6897, v. 42

Depicts the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, the Dow Company installation at Rocky Flats, and the Project Rulison detonations as environmental health hazards to Coloradans.

1689
Goldblat, Jozef. ARE TEAR GAS AND HERBICIDES PERMITTED WEAPONS? Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, Apr. 1970: 13-16.
TK9145.A84, v. 26

In 1924 a special subcommittee of the League of Nations Temporary Mixed Commission identified three categories of chemical weapons according to their effects on the human body: irritants, including lachrymatory gases; suffocating or asphyxiating agents; and toxic agents. This classification served as the basis for discussions preceding the June 17, 1925, adoption of the Geneva Protocol, which prohibited the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or "other" gases. In view of these preliminary discussions, "other" could have referred only to irritants, and British and French spokesmen later explicitly upheld that interpretation. The United States argued that many governments might be reluctant to refrain from the use in war of agents used against their own populations. This conjecture, which the United States itself subsequently discarded, became the basis for an ad hoc argument justifying the use of tear gas in Vietnam 36 years later. The debate following this 1930 meeting was concerned not with the question whether tear gas was prohibited by the protocol but with proposals for extending the prohibition to ban the stockpiling of chemical weapons or, in case of tear gas, for regulating its domestic uses. On several occasions in 1932 and 1933 the United States agreed either explicitly or tacitly that tear gas should not be used in war and even accepted the principle of restricting and regulating its use by local police forces. The Special Committee of the Disarmament Conference made no reference in its 1932 report to the use of substances harmful to plants because it did not consider it possible to harm plants without harming human beings and animals. The subsequent development of chemicals that harm only plants has rendered this position untenable, but the intent of various proposals relating to chemical and biological weapons was to ban all weapons directed solely against living organisms. The evidence thus suggests "that the ban on the use of irritants such as tear gas and chemicals affecting plants such as herbicides constitutes part and parcel of the rule of international law prohibiting chemical warfare."

1690
Ignatieff, George. AGENTS OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE. CANADIAN GOVERNMENT POLICY. In Canada. Department of External Affairs. External affairs, v. 22, May 1970: 170-174. illus.
JX351.A3, v. 22

Statement made before the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva on Mar. 24, 1970.

States the Canadian position on chemical and biological warfare (CBW), focusing on the basic elements by which concrete measures can be taken to ban CBW: the 1925 Geneva Protocol; expert reports from the U.N. General Assembly, the World Health Organization, and the Stockholm International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research; and the British and Socialist draft conventions. Canada does not possess a CBW capability nor intend to develop, produce, acquire, or stockpile such weapons. Research being conducted by the Defense Research Board under the Department of National Defense is limited to the development of counter-CBW agents in accordance with the Geneva Protocol.

1691
Krey, P. W., and B. Krajewski. COMPARISON OF ATMOSPHERIC TRANSPORT MODEL CALCULATIONS WITH OBSERVATIONS OF RADIOACTIVE DEBRIS. Journal of geophysical research, v. 75, May 20, 1970: 2901-2908.
QC811.J6, v. 75

A semi-empirical box model of atmospheric transport that permits the calculation of stratospheric inventories, surface air concentrations, and deposition of debris injected into the stratosphere, mesosphere, or higher levels has been developed. The model divides the atmosphere of each hemisphere into three compartments: the atmosphere above 21 km, the stratosphere below 21 km, and the troposphere. The transfer between compartments follows first-order kinetics, although the season and height of injection regulate the onset of the transfer. The model adequately computed the fallout parameters of the specific injections of ^{102}Rh, ^{109}Cd, ^{238}Pu, and ^{90}Sr from the 1961-1962 tests, and ^{90}Sr from the sixth Chinese nuclear test in June 1967. It also predicted the 1969 fallout from the recent atmospheric tests. (Abstract supplied)

1692
Malakhov, S. G., and I. B. Pudovkina. STRONTIUM 90 FALLOUT DISTRIBUTION AT MIDDLE LATITUDES OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN HEMISPHERES AND ITS RELATION

TO PRECIPITATION. Journal of geophysical research, v. 75, June 20, 1970: 3623-3628.
QC811.J6, v. 75

The dependence of ^{90}Sr deposition on precipitation within each 10° latitude belt is investigated. No satisfactory linear correlation is found for undifferentiated measurements obtained under different climatic conditions. Regions in which the data deviate systematically from the general trend of results in each latitude belt are singled out. A satisfactory linear correlation for most of the data has been obtained for four seasons of the year between 50 and 60°N and for the first and second quarters between 30 and 40°N and 40 and 50°N. In the latter cases, the third quarter is characterized by the largest deviations of the results from a linear dependence. The regression equations for the dependence of ^{90}Sr deposition on precipitation in each latitude belt are given. (Abstract supplied)

1693
Meselson, Matthew S. CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. Scientific American, v. 222, May 1970: 15-25. illus. T1.S5, v. 222

Under the new chemical and biological warfare (CBW) policy, the United States unconditionally renounced biological weapons and proclaimed that it would never be the first to use lethal and "longer-lasting" types of incapacitating chemical weapons; however it reserved the right to use herbicides and "riot control" agents in war and to continue developing and stockpiling lethal and incapacitating chemical weapons. The possession of biological weapons might stimulate the proliferation of germ weapons, presenting a major threat to the United States and all mankind, while contributing little, if anything, to U.S. strategic and tactical capabilities. "Although such weapons could become a terrible menace, the likelihood of this is greatly reduced by the spectacular gesture of renunciation made by the U.S." There are strong restraints barring the use of lethal chemical weapons, and, until the Vietnam War, nonlethal chemicals were excluded from warfare. While strategic chemical weapons would not enhance the capabilities of the nuclear powers, their proliferation among the nonnuclear states would constitute a very serious threat. Although many nations disagree, the United States has maintained that harassing agents and antiplant chemicals are not prohibited by the Geneva Protocol. As the scale of chemical operations in Vietnam has increased, the U.S. interpretation has come under mounting attack. The U.N. General Assembly recently passed a resolution holding that the Geneva Protocol prohibits the use of all chemical agents directed at men, animals, and plants. As a result of these developments, the administration will have to adopt a more definite stance on the use of harassing agents and herbicides as it moves to ratify the protocol. Nonlethal chemical weapons will not necessarily make war more humane, and their overall military potency has never been thoroughly evaluated. Their continued use in Vietnam has increased the likelihood of a breakdown of restraints against the use of chemical warfare and of the proliferation of chemical weapons. If the United States would forgo the option of employing these weapons in war, then all other important nations might be willing to accept such restrictions.

1694
Nguyen-Ba-Cuong and Gérard Lambert. GEOGRAPHIC VARIATIONS OF THE LARGE-SCALE VERTICAL EXCHANGE SPEED. Journal of geophysical research, v. 75, May 20, 1970: 2877-2884.
QC811.J6, v. 75

From a global study of the radioactive fallout in the latitude range 30°-60°N during the period 1963 to 1967 five regularly spaced areas have been found in which the amount of nuclear debris is somewhat higher than the average. This phenomenon may be attributed to an inhomogeneity in the rates of exchange between the lower stratosphere and the mid-troposphere, possibly related to the standing waves of the polar jet stream. At lower altitudes the existence of a continental threshold layer, which is characterized by a lower coefficient of vertical exchange, gives rise to an excess of dry fallout over the oceans. This may explain the discrepancies in measurements of the amount of radioactive fallout over continental areas and over oceanic areas at the same latitude, as observed by various authors. (Abstract supplied)

1695
19TH PUGWASH CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE AND WORLD AFFAIRS: THE CONTINUING COMMITTEE REPORT. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, Apr. 1970: 21-24.
TK9145.A84, v. 26

A statement by the Continuing Committee based on the reports of the five working groups that studied measures for terminating military conflicts, European security, strategic arms limitation, chemical and biological weapons, and science and the developing countries. The discussion of strategic arms limitation focused on the dangerous effects of ABM and multiple independent reentry vehicle deployment and concluded with a call for early negotiation of a strategic arms limitation agreement. The chemical and biological weapons (CBW) study group heard progress reports on biological-weapons inspection and identification experiments undertaken by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute on the recommendation of Pugwash. The group recommended the convocation of an international symposium to consider how the biological inspection experiment might be extended to verifying the observance of agreements banning chemical weapons and reiterated the Pugwash CBW study group recommendation that a workshop be convened to discuss the results of detection and identification experiments.

1696
PULL UP MORE WEEDS. Nature (London) v. 226, Apr. 25, 1970: 299-300.
Q1.N2, v. 226

Events surrounding the U.S. decision to restrict use of the herbicide 2,4,5-T bear looking into by those concerned with regulating chemicals in the environment. The case against use of this chemical for defoliation in Vietnam has already been made; here the issue is more general. Chromatography in its several versions has enabled researchers to detect trace amounts of organic chemicals in the environment that heretofore have gone undetected. Unfortunately, the improved detection methods have created the erroneous and potentially harmful impression that almost overnight the environment has become saturated with harmful chemicals. The new detection methods are welcome, but they raise the danger of panic and impose new problems on decisionmakers; the issues are not of a kind to be dealt with by the usual political procedures. The best solution would be to leave the decisionmaking up to scientists and the scientific community, who would then be free to deal with this range of questions in a scientific manner. In any case, the 2,4,5-T inquiry proved beyond all doubt that there is a great need for more detailed research on these problems. A more active role for Government in the testing of new products, including the acceptance of greater financial responsibility, would also be welcome, and the possibilities of greater international collaboration ought not to be neglected. Certainly, the need for new machinery to deal with these issues has become evident to all.

1697
STRONTIUM-90 DOSAGES AND INFANT MORTALITY. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, May 1970: 40-42, 47. TK9145.A84, v. 26

Contents.--An exchange, by Agnar Nilsson and Gunnar Walinder.--A reply, by Ernest J. Sternglass.

A letter disputing Ernest J. Sternglass's interpretation of experimental data on the effects of the exposure of laboratory animals to strontium-90 doses before mating and during pregnancy, together with a reply from Professor Sternglass. At issue is Professor Sternglass's contention that radioactive fallout from nuclear weapons tests has been responsible for a puzzling decrease in the rate of decline of fetal and infant mortality in the United States and elsewhere.

1698
U.S. Dept. of the Army. NUCLEAR HANDBOOK FOR MEDICAL SERVICE PERSONNEL. TM 8-215 [Washington] 1969. 93 p. illus. (Its Technical manual no. TM 8-215) U408.3.A13
Bibliography: p. 66-67.

Contents.--Introduction.--Blast.--Thermal radiation.--Nuclear radiation.--Comparison of weapon effects.--Psychological effects.--Medical management of patients in nuclear warfare.--Public health and preventive medicine.--Operational problems for medical personnel.--Nuclear accident hazards.--Appendices.--Glossary.

A reference manual on the biological effects of nuclear weapons for use by U.S. Army Medical Service personnel in the conduct of medical service operations during nuclear war.

Economic

1699
Boulding, Kenneth E. THE DEADLY INDUSTRY: WAR AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. In his Peace and the war industry. [Chicago] Aldine Pub. Co. [1970] p. 1-12. (Trans-action books, TA-11) HC110.D4B67

Employs the concept of a gross capacity product, defined as the gross national product increased by the proportion of the labor force unemployed, to demonstrate the effect of the war industry on American economic life. The "great American myth" that only a large war can take the country out of depression is shown to have originated in World War II. Boulding points out the extraordinarily little unemployment and dislocation produced during the conversion period of 1945 and 1946. The growth of national defense to occupy 8-10 percent of the gross capacity product in the 1950's and 1960's represents one of the major structural changes in the postwar American economy. National defense as a proportion of the gross capacity product declined (as did unemployment) from 1963 to 1965, when the Vietnam War began the military expansion that is still underway. Now the critical questions have become what is to go down when national defense expenditures go up, and what kinds of political coalitions are likely to form against the war industry. Such coalitions may be a rather odd combination of left and right. If the international system is considered as a segment of the total world social system, the war industry makes up a very large part of the international system and consumes perhaps 5-10 percent of the world product. In the United States, the war industry, which occupies some 41 percent of the total government sector of the economy, is a larger part of the political system than of the economic system. The international system is dangerous and expensive because threat rather than exchange predominates as the social organizer. The search for a solution would include studying the theory of the possible interaction between the threat and exchange systems.

1700
Clayton, James L., comp. THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE COLD WAR; SOURCES AND READINGS. New York, Harcourt, Brace & World [1970] 287 p. illus. (The Forces in American economic growth series) HC110.D4C5
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--A general introduction to the readings: The new economics of national defense.--Statistical tables.--pt. 1. The cold war and the national economy: Introduction. The national impact of defense spending. The regional impact of defense spending. The negative consequences of

defense spending. The positive consequences of defense spending. The consequences of disarmament.--pt. 2. The impact of the cold war on the institutional framework: Introduction. How defense decisions are made. Major procedural innovations introduced by the cold war. Major market innovations introduced by the cold war.--pt. 3. The impact of the cold war on research and development: Introduction. The distribution of Federal research and development funds. Military R&D; the most fruitful source of long-term growth. Military R&D; a drag on the economy. A new kind of economic federalism.--pt. 4. The culmination of the cold war, Vietnam: Introduction. The cost of the Vietnam conflict. The domestic impact of the Vietnam conflict.--pt. 5. The legacy of the cold war, the military industrial complex: Introduction. The military-industrial complex concept. The growth of the military-industrial complex. The raison d'etre of the military-industrial complex.--Conclusions.--Suggested readings.

Assesses the impact of the cold war on the civilian economy, governmental and social institutions, research, and education. The economic effects of the Vietnam War and the emergence of a military-industrial complex are examined separately.

1701
Clayton, James L. OUR MORTGAGED FUTURE. Playboy, v. 17, Apr. 1970: 86-88, 98, 197.
AP2.P69 Rare Bk Coll

The present mood of financial realism regarding the cost of the Vietnam War is indicative of the disillusionment and lassitude that typically accompany a prolonged and indecisive war. What few people realize, however, is that the greatest costs of the war are yet to come. The most enduring consequence of the war will be the dead and wounded. The total number of combat deaths on all sides since the inception of the Vietnamese civil war in 1945 is conservatively estimated at over 2 million, and at least an additional 1 million civilians have been killed, largely as the result of intensive U.S. bombing, the total tonnage of bombs dropped on Vietnam having already exceeded that dropped by the United States during World War II. The second most lasting consequence of war has been veterans' pensions, 113 years being the shortest interval in which they have been paid in full. Vietnam veterans' pensions will probably continue almost to the end of the next century and amount to about $220 billion at present rates. Interest on war loans has added one-third or more to the initial costs of the Civil War and World Wars I and II; "interest costs for World War Two and the Korean War eventually may actually exceed the original cost of those wars." The national debt has risen almost $70 billion since escalation of the Vietnam War in 1965. Every major U.S. war since the Civil War has necessitated an increase in taxes both during and after the war. The present surtax should not be considered either temporary or the ultimate tax cost of the Vietnam War; rather the war is likely to necessitate "an additional and permanent burden on top of an already large tax structure (itself mostly the result of past wars)." Inflation has been a byproduct of all major U.S. wars and typically continues for 10 to 20 years after the conclusion of a war. Even if the Vietnam War ends this year, its inflationary effects will "last at least until 1980 and cost a minimum of 30 billion dollars." The social and political consequences of the Vietnam War will be a continuation of the trend toward centralization and possibly a new era of McCarthyism, but former servicemen will benefit from the GI bill and other veterans' programs, and the potency of anticommunism as a crusading ideal will diminish. While it is thus important to understand the moral enormity and immediate results of present actions, one should also realize "that most of the major consequences of our decision to intervene in Vietnam will continue not for years but for centuries."

1702
DOD'S BUDGET: THE SQUEEZE IS FELT ACROSS THE BOARD. Space/aeronautics, v. 53, Apr. 1970: 18-21. illus.
TL501.A8187, v. 53

Summarizes the FY 1971 defense budget and programs as outlined in Secretary of Defense Laird's recent posture statement and focuses on budgetary retrenchment. While Laird emphasized the increasing Soviet missile threat, "he has programmed defense spending on the assumption that the USSR will follow a low-force, low-technology approach," which may be a reflection of domestic priorities. The reallocation of funds from cancelled programs and reduced Vietnam expenditures will permit a reversal in the upward trend in defense spending, and more precise management controls will send budget totals downward.

1703
Hardt, John P. SOVIET ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE 1970'S. World affairs, v. 133, June 1970: 47-59.
JX1901.W7, v. 133

The alternative claimants on Soviet economic resources are guns and growth, as the alternative principles in Soviet economic management are control and efficiency. The conflict between guns and growth will arise over such issues as the technological competition of military and space programs with investment projects designed to modernize Soviet industry or the rival claims of conventional weaponry and agricultural equipment. The emphasis to be given in the future development of Siberia will be a battleground between antagonists representing growth and defense. Soviet policy has alternated historically between periods of defense and growth priority. Faced with the costly prospect of matching the American multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle, the Soviet leadership might decide to deemphasize defense, or the growing economic crisis might force an involuntary shift from defense to growth and in the transition give economic control to the efficiency-minded industrial managers.

1704
Hoffmann, Walther G. [THE PROPORTION OF THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT EXPENDED FOR DEFENSE--A COMPARISON OF NATIONS AND PERIODS] Der Anteil der Verteidigungsausgaben am Bruttosozialprodukt--ein internationaler und intertemporaler Vergleich. Kyklos, v. 23, no. 1, 1970: 80-97.
H1.A15, v. 23
Summaries in English, French, and German.

Studies influences of military expenditures on economic growth. The tendency toward economic centralization implicit in armaments production is reinforced during the course of a war. Military expenditures can influence economic growth directly if they develop methods of production whose acceptance is forced by wartime exigencies. Every wartime economy requires the reallocation of labor and capital, with a resulting decrease in the growth of the consumer-goods sector. Defense expenditures in relation to the gross national product range from Zambia's 2 percent to Syria's 9 percent, while the percentages for mature economies like those of the United States and the Soviet Union are 7 and 5 percent respectively. Defense expenditures in relationship to total government expenditures vary from 2 percent in Malawi to 65 percent in Burma. However, the conceptual differences in government budget structures are such that these figures are comparable only in the very roughest way. Defense costs per capita for Germany in 1900 prices were 6 DM in 1925, 8 DM in 1932, 19 DM in 1933, 161 DM in 1938, and 57 DM in 1958. The 1966 international variation in per capita defense expenditures was from 10 cents in Uganda to $288 in the United States, a figure that corresponds to the per capita income of Colombia. The 1966 world total of military expenditures was $100 billion.

1705
Kaufman, Richard F. MILITARY SPENDING: WHO WON THE DEBATE? Nation, v. 210, Feb. 9, 1970: 137-142.
AP2.N2, v. 210

Assesses the effectiveness of recent attempts by Congress to establish greater control over and reduce defense spending. Kaufman finds that the military's critics have made significant progress but warns that the continuation of funding for new weapons systems approved last year may lead to further increases in defense spending.

1706
Magdoff, Harry. MILITARISM AND IMPERIALISM. Monthly review, v. 21, Feb. 1970: 1-14.
HX1.M66, v. 21
Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association on Dec. 30, 1969.

Argues the Marxist thought that economic processes must be understood as part of a social organism in which war is as typical as peace. According to this concept, militarism and imperialism are major determinants of the form and character of technological advance and of the international and intranational allocation of resources. American history is reviewed to show the continued campaign of economic, political, and military expansion directed toward the growth of an American empire. Today's rampant militarism is due to the imperialist need to crush the national liberation movement and fill the vacuums left by the disappearance of overt colonialism, since "imperialism necessarily involves militarism." The military machine that was created to maintain the imperialist network of trade and investment in the absence of colonialism is at the same time shaping the nature of American society. Inflation and speculation, the partners of militarism, have been the key facts of postwar American economics.

1707
Perlo, Victor. ARMS PROFITEERING. New republic, v. 162, Feb. 7, 1970: 23-25.
AP2.N624, v. 162

A critique of George E. Berkley's "The Myth of War Profiteering," which appeared in The New Republic, Dec. 20, 1969, and was cited as item 1183 in v. 6, no. 3, of this bibliography. Perlo criticizes Berkley's methodology and conclusions and asserts that defense industries have, in fact, earned increased profits during the Vietnam War. "Supporters of a nonmilitary priority still have powerful opponents in the profiteers from armaments."

1708
Roberts, Steven V. GAMES CORPORATIONS PLAY. Commonweal, v. 92, Apr. 24, 1970: 142-143.
AP2.C6897, v. 92

Redirecting priorities in the aerospace industry will be difficult and perhaps even impossible. The huge companies must be guaranteed a market for housing, subway cars, or antipollution devices comparable to the aerospace market, and the Government must compensate for the enormous dislocations that result from curtailing military spending. The greatest strength of the military industrialists "is their sheer size and inertia. What do you do with a dinosaur in your backyard?"

1709
Russett, Bruce M. WHAT THE HAWKS LOOK TO. America, v. 123, July 11, 1970: 13-14.
BX801.A5, v. 123

Although the U.S. Congress must authorize all Defense Department expenditures, it has been neither successful nor even interested in trimming military budgets. Congressmen tend to be consistent on questions of military spending, and Senators' voting positions on defense measures are closely related to their positions on a wide range of defense and foreign policy issues, a general cluster that has shown substantial continuity. Yet existing partisan positions on defense have been reversed since the 1950's. "Hawkishness" and "dovishness" are related to the geographical distribution of certain types of defense funds, and as the local impact of direct spending increases

in a given state, the greater is the likelihood that its Senator will adopt a hard-line position in Congress. Whereas expenditures for military installations support and reinforce hawkish and anti-Communist postures in American politics, and the Pentagon is supported in turn by these voters and politicians, there does not seem to be a similar relationship between hawkishness and the percentage of a state's income derived from defense contracts. "If there is a 'military-industrial complex,' the industrial part, composed of big manufacturing establishments, does not itself reinforce the hawkish or uncompromisingly anti-Communist forces in this country in any strong or direct way." The wider political effect of military spending differs from the effects of maintaining a large army with many bases. This relationship may provide another argument in favor of abandoning Selective Service in favor of a smaller volunteer army.

1710
Sherrill, Robert. THE WAR MACHINE. Playboy, v. 17, May 1970: 134, 214, 216-218, 220-222, 224, 226, 228. AP2.P69 Rare Bk Coll, v. 17

Surveys the nature and scope of the military-industrial complex in the United States. Sherrill notes the widespread support for increased defense spending by every administration and Congress since World War II, the lack of fiscal accountability for military expenditures, the domination of congressional committees dealing with military affairs by southerners, and the ineffectiveness of congressional and other opposition to militarism, and concludes that the United States has "irreversibly become a militaristic nation." He examines the effect of defense spending on the economy, particularly the level of employment, and suggests that antimilitarists should acknowledge the hopelessness of reforming the military-industrial complex and settle for an explicit admission that the purpose of defense spending is to produce jobs, not efficient weapons.

1711
Sladkovski, M. JAPAN AT THE TURN OF THE DECADE. International affairs (Moscow) no. 6, June 1970: 44-49. D839.I465, 1970

Japan's present economic boom must be analyzed in terms of its military-industrial complex, which has coalesced with that of the United States. The expansionist aims of the monopoly capitalists who are pushing Japan into participation in aggressive military alliances orginate in the inherent laws of capitalism in its monopoly stage and not in Japan's vital national interests. Japan's Left parties have shown that the demands of the home market can absorb industrial production. However, Japanese ruling circles are trying to force the country along a dangerous road, in order to give the once-defeated monopolies another chance.

1712
Treires, James J. ARMS AND EMPLOYMENT: KICKING THE DEFENSE HABIT. Nation, v. 210, Feb. 23, 1970: 200-204. AP2.N2, v. 210

Critics of the Vietnam War frequently contend that the $30 billion spent annually on the war must be diverted to meet pressing domestic needs. Undoubtedly the savings resulting from an end to the war and reduction of the military budget would be sufficient to solve many basic social problems, but it is less certain that the practical obstacles to such a reordering of national priorities could be so easily overcome. The truth is "that defense spending is the only time-proven, well-understood mechanism for maintaining high levels of employment in the United States, and that it has therefore quietly and unobtrusively become an end in itself, a pump primer whose magnitude is determined not by an objective assessment of the external threat but by the amount of defense-generated employment required to sustain full employment." The high level of defense spending cannot be explained in terms of the military's pursuit of more money since this is a goal shared by all Federal agencies. It is rather the consequence of the Nation's experience since the Great Depression. During the past two decades the unemployment rate has never been less than 4 percent except in time of war. Defense spending has transformed a potentially disruptive group of intellectuals rendered superfluous by increased efficiency into supporters of the status quo. The products of the defense industries, however wasteful, pose no threat to the consumer industries. The brunt of unemployment is borne by the poor, the uneducated, the semiskilled and unskilled, while those with above average ability and education find high-paying jobs that contribute little of value to society. The problem of guaranteeing employment for this technological elite of the defense industry therefore is perhaps the most serious obstacle to reducing military expenditures. The increasing militarization and dehumanization of American society cannot be halted by disadvantaged minorities and youthful dissenters; basic change must originate with those professionals directly or indirectly dependent upon the war economy who are willing to risk their status in the present pecking order to assure a better future for all men.

1713
U.S. Congress. Subcommittee on Economy in Government. THE MILITARY BUDGET AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC PRIORITIES; REPORT, TOGETHER WITH SUPPLEMENTARY VIEWS. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1969. 18 p. UA23.3.A5 1969
At head of title: 91st Congress, 1st session. Joint committee print.

Contents.--Letters of transmittal.--Introduction.--The U.S. military budget.--The Soviet military budget.--The civilian budgets.--National economic priorities.--Recommendations.--Supplementary views of Representative Conable and Senator Jordan.--Supplementary views of Senator Charles Per-

cy.--Supplementary views of Representative Clarence J. Brown.

Reemphasizes "the need for greater scrutiny of the defense budget and more rigorous use of economic analysis in decisionmaking, and . . . outline[s] some procedures that need to be established in order to avoid waste and inefficiency and bring about greater economy in government." The report notes various instances of inefficiency and cost overruns and the lack of adequate auditing procedures for defense expenditures. It finds that the Soviet Union has a definite economic interest in arms control and disarmament measures and can match current U.S. defense spending only with great difficulty. It recommends annual posture statements by the Department of Defense and the Executive to provide information on long-term defense spending, a reduction by at least $10 billion in the current level of defense spending, and a more active role for the Bureau of the Budget and the General Accounting Office in the identification and control of defense spending.

1714
Vilmar, Fritz. [ARMAMENT AND DISARMAMENT IN THE LATE STAGE OF CAPITALISM, A SOCIOECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF MILITARISM IN OUR SOCIETY] Rüstung und Abrüstung im Spätkapitalismus, eine sozioökonomische Analyse des Militarismus in unserer Gesellschaft. Mit einem Vorwort von Ossip K. Flechtheim. Mit einem Nachtrag und einem Fremdwörterverzeichnis. Neu bearb. und erw. 4. Aufl. [Frankfurt am Main] Europäische Verlagsanstalt [1969, c1965] 421 p. illus., maps. HC65.V5 1969
Bibliography: p. 407-410.
The first edition was cited as item 920 in v. 3, no. 2, of this bibliography.

Contents.--Foreword, by Prof. Ossip K. Flechtheim.--Introduction to the third edition and a synopsis.--Functions of the armaments-based economy in modern capitalism.--Armaments-based economy in the German Federal Republic.--Functions of militarism in modern capitalism.--Contribution to the critique of military-political ideologies.--Disarmament necessity and chances.--Conversion of the armaments-based economy (I): theoretical possibilities.--Conversion of an armaments-based economy (II): social opposition.--Principles of a successful peace policy.--Addenda to the fourth edition.--Footnotes and remarks.--Bibliographical references.--Index of subjects and names.--Index of foreign words.

Considers the history and importance of the modern capitalist armaments-based economy; significance of West German defense spending, defense industry and arms trade for the country's national economy; political and socioeconomic effects of armaments; possible conversion of an armaments-based economy into a full-fledged peace economy; economic-mathematical models of conversion; and sociopolitical forces in the West and the East hostile to disarmament. Vilmar concludes that the prerequisite for global disarmament and a peaceful world is a fundamental change in the economic and foreign policies of Western countries. A comprehensive summary of each chapter is given at the beginning of the book. Tables have been revised to include data to the date of publication.

Ethical and Social

1715
Beisner, Robert L. 1898 AND 1968: THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS AND THE DOVES. Political science quarterly, v. 85, June 1970: 187-216.
H1.P8, v. 85
Bibliographical footnotes.

Compares the class composition, methods of protest, political influence, and criticisms of opponents to the Spanish-American and Vietnam Wars. Beisner concludes that the primary achievement of both groups has been to make an effective moral protest to the abandonment of traditional American ideals.

1716
D'Amato, Anthony A., Harvey L. Gould, and Larry D. Woods. WAR CRIMES AND VIETNAM: THE "NUREMBERG DEFENSE" AND THE MILITARY SERVICE RESISTER. California law review, v. 57, Nov. 1969: 1055-1110.
LL

Examines the concept of war crimes set forth at Nuremberg and its applicability in U.S. courts; indicates the kinds of evidence necessary to substantiate charges of war crimes regarding treatment of prisoners of war, aerial bombardment of nonmilitary targets, and chemical warfare; considers defenses against charges of war crimes on the basis of reprisals and tu quoque, military necessity, orders of superiors, ignorance of the law, and duress; and discusses the justiciability in U.S. courts of a refusal to serve in Vietnam on the grounds of possible implication in the commission of war crimes. The authors conclude that the body of international law relevant to war crimes does apply to U.S. forces in Vietnam, that there is legally admissible evidence to support charges of war crimes by the United States in Vietnam, that service resisters can validly claim that service in Vietnam may place them in substantial danger of committing war crimes, and "that in-service and possibly draft resisters raising a 'Nuremberg defense' have standing, and raise questions which are both ripe and justiciable."

1717
DECISION-MAKING ON MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE. Nature (London) v. 226, May 30, 1970: 793-794.
Q1.N2, v. 226

Examines the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's decision to divest itself of the Draper Laboratory and modify its relationship with Lincoln Laboratory. Draper's involvement in defense research is too intimate and exclusive to permit the laboratory's being used for any other purpose, but Lincoln should be able to diversify its interests and develop closer educational links with the uni-

versity. Everything considered, the decision is "the least of the possible evils and is probably as little self-destructive as any decision could be under these circumstances."

1718
Donovan, James A. MILITARISM, U.S.A. With a foreword by David M. Shoup. New York, Scribner [c1970] xxi, 265 p.
UA23.D63 1970

Contents.--Foreword.--Preface.--The warrior Americans.--A nation of veterans.--The weapons merchants.--Careerism.--Readiness.--Militarism at the top.--Military gamesmanship.--A war for everybody.--The great bombing hoax.--Citizens and soldiers.--Attack in a different direction.--Epilogue.--Appendices.--Bibliography.--Index.

Analyzes the military-industrial complex in the United States and its role in promoting and escalating U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Donovan argues that the present militaristic and aggressive policies of the United States mark a decisive break with longstanding American traditions, both military and civilian, and notes that only since World War II has the United States maintained such a massive military establishment in peacetime. He examines the relationship between the professional military and the Johnson administration, which encouraged the growth of militarism and led to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. He concludes that the failure of recent efforts by Congress to curb the military indicate "that the American war machine will continue to dominate all other national programs, needs, and interests--and that militarism will maintain its rule over the republic's character."

1719
Dynes, Russell R. ORGANIZED BEHAVIOR IN DISASTER: ANALYSIS AND CONCEPTUALIZATION. For Office of Civil Defense, Office of the Secretary of the Army. [Columbus] Dept. of Sociology Disaster Research Center, Ohio State University, 1969. 254 p. (Ohio State University Disaster Research Center series, no. 3)
HV555.U6D93

Contents.--Introduction.--Disaster-activated organizations.--The disaster event and community stress.--Disasters and community organizations.--Disaster activities and organizational functioning.--Ways of conceptualizing organized behavior.--Problems of organized activity in disaster.--Interorganizational relationships.--Implications for a nuclear catastrophe.--Appendix.--Bibliographic note.

1720
Feldberg, Roslyn L. POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY. Sociological quarterly, v. 11, spring 1970: 206-218.
HM1.S69, v. 11

Presents data in support of the hypothesis that there is "an inverse relationship between the extent of political participation and mobilization and the intervention of the military in political life." The indices used in this study were developed from A Cross Political Survey, published by Arthur S. Banks and Robert B. Textor in 1963. Feldberg criticizes earlier analyses of the role of the military in politics for attempting to explain the political behavior of military organizations by means of internal characteristics alone, these latter being treated as independent variables, a procedure which ignores the institutional framework within which both military and political organizations function. The author also notes a paucity of specific hypotheses in this earlier work, along with an unjustifiable faith in the developed-underdeveloped country dichotomy as an explanatory principle.

1721
Foecke, Harold A. ENGINEERING IN THE HUMANISTIC TRADITION. Impact of science on society, v. 20, Apr./June 1970: 125-135.
Q1.I4, v. 20

The accusations that have been levelled at the scientist and technologist for the anti-social consequences of their work are misdirected. The real culprit is the engineer. Neither scientist nor technologist has a voice in deciding how new knowledge will be applied. It is the engineer who, functioning at the creative stage, designs the forms that the practical applications of knowledge will take. Generally speaking, the engineer has always been largely concerned only with the technical factors involved in design projects. But it is his social responsibility to take into account, as well, the social and human factors. For this reason, the engineer's education must include much more training in the human and social sciences than is now provided. (Abstract supplied)

1722
Hall, Martin. A STATE RULED BY A MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. International affairs (Moscow) no. 6, June 1970: 80-83.
D839.I465, 1970

Comments that the United States has become something close to a "warfare state," with grave repercussions on both foreign and domestic areas. Particularly ominous is the hard line taken by representatives of the new administration against even moderate liberals. Unless new pressure is exerted not only to get out of Vietnam but to end the arms race, the United States may lose its once proud democracy.

1723
KNOWING WHERE TO DRAW THE LINE. Nature (London) v. 226, May 30, 1970: 785-786.
Q1.N2, v. 226

Praises the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for its decision to "hive off" its special defense-oriented laboratories. The Institute had become far too dependent on overhead earnings

from contracts with the Defense Department, and even though it will be hard pressed to find new sources of income, it should benefit from the separation. As for the laboratories, they have done much valuable work over the past quarter century and must be allowed to carry on independently.

1724
Reston, James B., Jr. IS NUREMBERG COMING BACK TO HAUNT US? Saturday review, v. 53, July 18, 1970: 14-17, 61. Z1219.S25, v. 53

Compares the trials of General Yamashita and other Japanese involved in the massacre of Philippine civilians during World War II and the pending trials of Americans charged with the massacre of Vietnamese civilians at Mylai. Reston notes that in the former case the severest charges and punishments were meted out to higher ranking officers who did not take part directly in the massacres but issued policy directives that encouraged their subordinates to resort to extreme measures. In contrast, charges arising out of the Mylai incident have been brought against the instruments of Pentagon policy, not those who formulated policies such as search and destroy that led to the massacre. The systematic intensity and random brutality of the high-technology warfare being waged by the United States in Vietnam has caused the wholesale killing of even more civilians than face-to-face massacres such as Mylai. The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 did not contemplate this kind of warfare and the Nuremberg trials deliberately avoided raising the issue of aerial bombardment, but clearly the category of crimes against humanity introduced at Nuremberg is relevent to U.S. practice in Vietnam. Not only U.S. policymakers but all Americans share responsibility for this bestial misuse of technology.

1725
Shearer, Derek. THE BRASS IMAGE. Nation, v. 210, Apr. 20, 1970: 455-464. AP2.N2, v. 210

"A description of the lengths to which the Pentagon goes to propagandize the public and maintain its privileged power position in American society." Shearer investigates a variety of military public relations programs utilizing movies, television, radio, books, traveling exhibits, speakers bureaus, expense-paid trips, and other means to create a favorable image of the U.S. military. He concludes that these programs have been highly effective in inculcating a perverted sense of patriotism and calls for expansion of present efforts to educate the American public on the dangers of militarism.

1726
Tarr, Curtis W. [interview] DRAFT OUTLOOK FOR '70 AND '71. U.S. news & world report, v. 69, July 6, 1970: 46-51. JK1.U65, v. 69

Responds to questions about recent changes in the U.S. Selective Service System as they affect trends in draft callups, deferments, conscientious objection, punishment of violators, functional and administrative matters, problems peculiar to college students and graduates, and prospects for an all-volunteer army. The Director of Selective Service admits to some difficulties on the part of local draft boards in changing over to the new lottery selection method but argues nevertheless that the new system is a substantial improvement over the old one.

1727
Toulat, Jean. [THE BOMB OR LIFE] La bombe ou la vie. Paris, Fayard [1969] 198 p. JX1952.T64

Contents.--To Georges Pompidou, President of the Republic.--Deterrence: a mirage?--An economic and social heresy.--An insult to the Third World. --About strontium in the bones.--"I was a pilot at Mururoa."--The officials of the apocalypse.--"Would you do it, Mr. President?"--The laboratories of death.--The illegal war.--The weapons of the Gospel.--The "violence of pacifists."--Toward a national civil resistance.--To disarm the spirit.--To build the peace.--France's vocation.

Warns of the consequences of nuclear programs, focusing on the force de frappe, which, Toulat maintains, is not a deterrent but an economic waste and a threat to humanity and contradicts even the code of the French Army, which prescribes civilian protection during war. Its utilization would be, in the words of Vatican II, "a crime against God and man."

1728
Welch, Claude E. MILITARY INTERVENTION IN TROPICAL AFRICA. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, May 1970: 33-46. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 50

The landslide of military interventions that began in 1965 and ultimately engulfed a large part of the African continent came as a rude shock to many political scientists. Not one but a congeries of factors, the precise combination of which varied from case to case, were responsible for this abrupt entry of the military into politics: a decline in prestige of the major political parties, an outbreak of schism among governing elites, a diminished probability of outside interference, an exacerbation of internal social antagonisms, an economic malaise and the impact of austerity programs on urban populations, inefficiency and corruption in government, a new awareness among military leaders of their real power, and a contagious reaction to the example set by other military men abroad. A decline in popularity of the government among politically relevant strata and recognition by the officer corps of its duty to the nation were common to all cases. The first step toward revolt was to deny the legitimacy of constituted authority; the second, to rationalize this denial in terms of an appeal to the national interest. Whatever the combination

of causes in particular cases, however, it is evident that the military in tropical Africa has become the most significant shaper of local politics.

Other

1729
Archer, Jules. HAWKS, DOVES, AND THE EAGLE; AMERICA'S STRUGGLES FOR AND AGAINST WAR. Illustrated by Erwin Schachner. New York, Hawthorn Books [1970] 202 p. E181.A68 1970

Contents.--Nine wars.--Pitchforks or rifles?--Mr. Madison's war.--Mahan's bugle call.--"Make them fear and dread us."--The naval hawks.--"A splendid little war."--Gunboat diplomacy.--"A message of death."--Dark days for the Navy.--Senator Nye rattles some skeletons.--"Stop Hitler now!"--World in flames.--Cold warriors.--"The edge of disaster."--Eyeball to eyeball.--"You may not wake up tomorrow."--Brain power or military power?--Bibliography.--Index.

History of provar and antiwar sentiment in the United States, with emphasis on the latter.

1730
Bagley, Worth H. 1974. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 96, Feb. 1970: 19-25. V1.U8, v. 96

Scenario for a Soviet-provoked naval confrontation with the United States. The United States neglects its own naval strength during a period of vigorous Soviet maritime activity. By 1974, the Soviet Union has become convinced that it is supreme at sea and threatens global naval conflict to force the United States out of Asia. Between the unacceptable extremes of capitulation to Soviet demands and nuclear war, the United States finds that it has little choice but to adopt a defensive naval strategy until it can acquire a capability for dealing with the Soviet submarine force.

1731
Blackaby, Frank. HISTORY'S GREATEST DEAD END. Saturday review, v. 53, Mar. 14, 1970: 19-21, 46. Z1219.S25, v. 53

During the past two decades military spending has consumed nearly 8 percent of the world's output, a percentage exceeded only in the two World Wars. Military spending has increased at an average annual rate of approximately 5 percent during the past 50 years. Assuming a continuation of the present rates of growth in world output and military spending, the military will double the resources at its disposal every 15 years and by the end of the century will dispose of resources equal to the present total of world output. Competition in strategic arms has never reached the "strategic plateau" predicted by some strategists but has continued to spiral through a pattern of action and reaction. Much of the research and development on new weapons systems proceeds independently of any specific enemy threat and consequently tends to be a self-perpetuating process. The growth in military expenditures among developing countries has been greater than that of the major arms producers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France. These enormous expenditures on arms are sometimes held to be only the symptom, not the cause, of the problems confronting mankind, but certainly the development of weaponry encourages its use in crisis situations like Vietnam and Czechoslovakia. Similarly arms control treaties may not only reflect but also contribute to a lessening of international tension. Unfortunately public concern has tended to focus on problems like environmental pollution and the population explosion when public concern over the arms race is most needed.

1732
FROM THE FIRING-PAN TO THE FIRE. Nature (London) v. 226, May 9, 1970: 492-493. Q1.N2, v. 226

Discusses the impact of budget cuts on Defense Department research and development, particularly those cuts that were made in the expectation that the Mansfield amendment to the defense appropriation bill would be passed. According to the congressional testimony of Defense Department officials, the reduction could seriously harm the U.S. defense effort and university research capabilities.

1733
Hoopes, Townsend. LEGACY OF THE COLD WAR IN INDOCHINA. Foreign affairs, v. 48, July 1970: 601-616. D410.F6, v. 48

"Why did so many intelligent, experienced and humane men in government fail to grasp the immorality of our intervention in Vietnam and the cancerous division it was producing at home, long after this was instinctively evident to their wives and children?" Despite the efforts of the New Left and revisionist historians to blame the cold war on U.S. imperialism and militarism, the fact is that the United States reacted to a genuine and serious Soviet threat following World War II. The Korean War in particular led Americans to think in terms of a life and death struggle with international communism. Unfortunately "the American response to the cold war generated its own momentum and, in doing so, led us . . . beyond the rational requirements of our national security." Anticommunism degenerated into a religious obsession despite a number of indications that the Communist bloc was no longer monolithic. U.S. aid to Vietnam was predicated on the belief that any Communist expansion threatened U.S. security. The progressive escalation of the war beginning in 1965 reflected the continuing influence of the cold war syndrome and led to wanton destruction grossly disproportionate to the end sought. President Nixon assumed office with an unparalleled opportunity to end the war on a basis that would have

enhanced both the Republican Party and the Nation, but, torn between conflicting desires for victory and withdrawal, "he has been unwilling to abandon either the rhetoric that supported our intervention in the first place or the implicit insistence that our proxy must prevail even if we depart." The only matter to be negotiated at this point is the manner of U.S. withdrawal, but Nixon persists in making emotional appeals that raise the specter of humiliation and a bloodbath, notwithstanding indications that the Communists would settle for an independent neutralist government in the south and despite the fact that the present bloodbath continues every day. Vietnamization only perpetuates the war at the very time that the United States is losing its bargaining strength through the withdrawal of troops. Reaction to the misconceived Cambodian adventure indicates that a growing segment of the American public recognizes the inability of the United States to control events in Indochina, that the Nation has no vital interest at stake there, that the war must be terminated by the end of 1971 to avoid disintegration at home, and that the United States can still withdraw from the war with dignity.

1734
Hwang, Tien-chien. 1967; A YEAR OF PRECARIOUSNESS FOR CHINESE COMMUNISTS. [Taipei, Taiwan] Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China, 1968. 98 p. (Publications of the APACLROC no. 123) DS777.55.H893

Partial contents.--PLA.--Foreign activities.--Moscow-Peiping relations.--Conclusion.

Discusses the unfavorable political, military, economic, and international consequences of the cultural revolution in China, emphasizing the role of the military.

1735
Inglis, David R. NUCLEAR POLLUTION AND THE ARMS RACE. Progressive, v. 34, Apr. 1970: 55-56, 58-60. AP2.P8655, v. 34

Contends that the present concern for the environment is being exploited to divert pressure from moderation of the arms race. Inglis asserts that only a change in foreign policy can eliminate the ecological threat posed by nuclear weapons.

1736
Kulish, V., and S. Fedorenko. CONCERNING THE STRATEGIC WEAPONS CONTROVERSY IN THE USA. Daily review; translations from the Soviet press, v. 16, Apr. 21, 1970: supplement, [item] 2, 1-10. Slav Rm

Translated from Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, no. 3, 1970. HC10.M5357, 1970

Neither side in the American armaments debate rejects technological escalation in principle or criticizes the policy of nuclear intimidation. The argument is on the means by which to achieve agreed-upon ends. Only a few like H. York or McGeorge Bundy seem to have realized that disarmament must be achieved by diplomacy and not technology, at the conference table and not in the laboratory. "Any military-strategic solution or action, especially in the development of mass destruction weapons, immediately assumes, in modern conditions, major political importance and inevitably gets extensive international resonance." The action-reaction phenomenon does occur, but it is not the technical development of armaments as such that makes for war but national political goals like American imperialism. Any American effort to ensure missile superiority, especially the introduction of multiple warheads, will inevitably lead to an equivalent buildup of Soviet missile forces, to the further endangerment of international security.

1737
Lacouture, Jean. FROM THE VIETNAM WAR TO AN INDOCHINA WAR. Foreign affairs, v. 48, July 1970: 617-628. D410.F6, v. 48

The conference of four Indochinese Leftist movements held in south China April 24 and 25, 1970, and the U.S. military intervention in Cambodia a few days later marked the beginning of the second Indochina war. French colonizers created Indochina to establish an efficient form of economic exploitation by pitting Vietnamese against Cambodians and Laotians, but revolutionaries have effectively used this construction for their own purposes. The first Indochina war, which began in 1945 and ended with the 1954 Geneva Conference, was primarily a Vietnamese affair, the Marxist movements in Laos and Cambodia lacking the necessary strength to challenge their neutralist governments. In 1960 the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam proposed an alliance with Cambodia and Laos, and in 1965 Prince Sihanouk called a conference of the Indochinese peoples, which was attended by all factions hostile to U.S. hegemony. U.S. escalation of the war brought the Indochinese closer together, particularly the Vietnamese Communists and the Pathet Lao, Laos having become a major battleground of the war. Cambodia has now been drawn into the war as a consequence of the Rightist coup that ousted Sihanouk, whose position had steadily deteriorated since General de Gaulle's visit in 1966. Again in 1970 it was Sihanouk who called for an Indochina conference, but this time as a revolutionary living in exile and struggling to regain power in Cambodia. By expanding the war into Cambodia, President Nixon made a major contribution to the revolutionary unification of the former French colony. China's influence in the area has since increased markedly, although a united Indochina under Hanoi's leadership will not yield easily to Chinese domination.

1738
Lodge, Henry Cabot. A CITIZEN LOOKS AT THE ABM. Reader's digest, v. 96, June 1970: 57-64. AP2.R255, v. 96

Appraises the functions and current status of the Safeguard system, challenges the principal arguments against it by examining in detail the Soviet drive for numerical superiority in strategic weapons systems, and questions the assumptions underlying U.S. nuclear strategy. Lodge concludes that the ABM could protect U.S. retaliatory forces, enhance U.S. strategic options, strengthen the American bargaining position in the disarmament talks, and deescalate the arms race. Safeguard "might even augur the beginning of a more stable international order."

1739
MacMillan, Norman. [THE REORGANIZED ROYAL AIR FORCE] Die reorganisierte Royal Air Force. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 14, Mar. 1970: 126-128. illus. U3.W38, v. 14

The reorganization of the Royal Air Force concluded in November 1969 continues the division into Strike Command and Air Support Command and assigns only helicopters to the Royal Navy. This renunciation of naval air power can be interpreted as limiting the British air presence to the North Atlantic, Western Europe, and Gibraltar and Cyprus in the Mediterranean. The Americans and Russians may or may not exploit this withdrawal in their disarmament talks to erect mutually agreed-on zones of influence. Characteristic of the Royal Air Force today is its increasing demand for technical proficiency and highly trained personnel.

1740
Malawer, Stuart S. THE VIETNAM WAR UNDER THE CONSTITUTION: LEGAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE UNITED STATES MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM. University of Pittsburgh law review, v. 31, winter 1969: 205-241. LL

The Legal Adviser to the State Department has argued that the Executive's actions in Vietnam are constitutionally valid on three grounds: article II of the Constitution grants the President broad discretionary powers as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, and there is ample historical precedent for the President's use of military forces in Vietnam; the President was obligated to intervene in Vietnam in accordance with article VI of the Constitution and the SEATO treaty; and Congress has explicitly authorized the President's actions by its nearly unanimous endorsement of the Joint (Tonkin Gulf) Resolution and its repeated approval of various appropriations for the Vietnam War. All of these arguments are open to question. Of the 125 historical precedents cited by the Legal Adviser, the first did not involve independent Executive action, and the remainder were mainly cases of intervention to protect U.S. citizens or measured acts of reprisal, neither of which is comparable to the massive and prolonged war in Vietnam. The powers of the President as Chief Executive and Commander-in-Chief grant him broad authority over foreign policy, but the Constitution also assigns Congress an active role in this area, including specifically the power to declare war. The argument that the SEATO treaty obligates the United States to intervene in Vietnam ignores the constitutional requirement that Congress, not just the President and the Senate acting together, has the power to declare war. The Tonkin Gulf Resolution is not an adequate basis for the President's Vietnam War policies for at least three reasons. First, the circumstances surrounding adoption of the resolution and statements by individual Congressmen who participated in the debate make it clear that Congress did not intend the resolution to be a declaration of war or an authorization of a major and enduring conflict. Second, if it was the intent of Congress to delegate its warmaking powers to the President, this was clearly unconstitutional. Third, the Johnson administration resorted to misrepresentation and deception on the nature of the Tonkin Gulf incident to assure prompt passage of the resolution. Finally, congressional appropriations do not constitute, as the Legal Adviser contends, a blanket ratification of the President's war policies. It is clear, then, that the Executive's Vietnam War policies exceed the limitations imposed by the Constitution. This constitutional crisis could be resolved by a reassertion of the principle of judicial review or a reassertion by Congress of its responsibilities and powers relating to war, but neither the Supreme Court nor Congress has shown any enthusiasm for challenging the Executive.

1741
Martin, Laurence W. BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENCE AND THE ALLIANCE. Boulogne-sur-Seine, France, Atlantic Institute [1969] 51 p. (The Atlantic papers, 1969, 1) UG632.M36

Contents.--Introduction.--The development of BMD.--The dangers of BMD.--The case for BMD.--BMD and the Western alliance.--Limitation of the missile race.--Selected bibliography.

Speculates on the probable effects of U.S. ABM deployment on the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance, the Atlantic alliance, the British and French nuclear deterrents, and efforts toward arms limitations. Martin sees both advantages and disadvantages in the deployment but notes that the European reaction has been largely negative. He suggests that to quiet European fears and reduce its own defense burdens, the United States might consider abandoning its recent hostility to European nuclear forces in favor of "a more constructive effort to build them safely into the common structure of Western deterrence." He also warns against attempts to "decouple" the strategic balance and arms limitation efforts from their political context. On the one hand, strategic nuclear forces inevitably exert an influence on "the perceptions of power and sources of confidence which underwrite day-to-day diplomacy." On the other, decisions to stabilize the balance between these forces are, by their very nature, acts of political will, which means that "some faith in and success in achieving a tolerable political order is . . . the precondition for an agreed strategic balance."

1742
MORE GRUMBLING ABOUT MANSFIELD. Nature (London) v. 225, Mar. 28, 1970: 1185-1186.
Q1.N2, v. 225

Reports the claims advanced by academic scientists during congressional hearings on the authorization bill of the National Science Foundation that the Mansfield amendment to the defense appropriation bill will do serious harm to basic research and graduate study in the United States. The so-called Mansfield amendment forbids the Department of Defense to support basic research unless it has "a direct or apparent relationship to a specific military function or operation."

1743
Piatier, Henri. [FRENCH NUCLEAR POLICY] La politique nucléaire française. Politique étrangère, v. 35, no. 2, 1970: 211-221.
JX3.P6, v. 35

The author presents the conditions under which the French policy of producing and utilizing fissile materials has been shaped and developed. Putting aside the economic argument that has caused the present abandonment of the French natural-uranium graphite-gas reactor, he acknowledges that the exploitation of enriched uranium is more convenient for nuclear power stations. This is not, however, a reason to renounce the fruit of 15 years of experience. Thanks to the [French] Atomic Energy Commission, the advancement of research is possible, notably in the field of high temperature reactors and in the construction, in agreement with Great Britain and its European neighbors, of a high-capacity plant destined to feed the electronuclear power stations. On the other hand, it is necessary to diversify research and open it to the outside. (Translation of supplied abstract, modified)

1744
Platte, William A. PEKING, MOSCOW, AND THE SALT TALKS. Naval War College review, v. 22, May 1970: 93-111. Ser
Bibliographical footnotes.

Surveys recent developments in the Sino-Soviet dispute, focusing on military relations, border clashes and negotiations, and polemical trends. Platte concludes that these polemics correlate closely, in frequency and intensity, with periods of increased border tensions. China's major concern is not the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT), but the possibility that the Soviet Union might "strip China of borderlands or . . . emasculate her growing atomic capability." Although the SALT talks are important to Russia, Moscow is much more concerned with the Chinese border situation.

1745
Schurmann, Franz. CAMBODIA: NIXON'S TRAP. Nation, v. 210, June 1, 1970: 651-656.
AP2.N2, v. 210

Analyzes President Nixon's decision to send U.S. forces into Cambodia and assesses the domestic and international consequences of this decision. Schurmann argues that Nixon's decision "was a quick compromise between the extremely dangerous plan [of the U.S. military] to attack Sihanoukville and the more 'moderate' tactics apparently advocated by Laird and Rogers," who opposed military intervention. The author believes that Nixon sincerely wants to avoid further escalation of the war but is too weak to resist pressures by the military, whose goal remains military victory rather than a negotiated settlement.

1746
SCIENTISTS AGAINST ABM, MIRV, ETC. Nature (London) v. 226, June 6, 1970: 893-894.
Q1.N2, v. 226

Reports on the testimony of Drs. G. B. Kistiakowsky, Jerome B. Wiesner, and Donald Hornig before the Senate's Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Law and Organization. The three scientists, all ex-scientific advisors to the U.S. President, expressed their opposition to ABM and multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle deployment, claiming that the ABM is both unnecessary and unworkable, even against a low-level Chinese attack, and that deployment of either system would undermine the strategic arms limitation talks. Drawing on his experience in government, Wiesner told the subcommittee that he had "seen more proposals for arms control destroyed by the compromises it is necessary to make within the government than by any other cause," and that there were four obstacles facing any new arms control proposal--"the Pentagon, Congress, the public and also, I suppose, the Russians."

1747
SENATOR MANSFIELD, HIS MARK [editorial] Nature (London) v. 225, Mar. 28, 1970: 1177.
Q1.N2, v. 225

The Mansfield amendment to the defense appropriation bill, in imposing a test of relevance on the support of scientific research by mission-oriented agencies, risks forcing a shift of emphasis in scientific inquiry that could do much harm in unexpected ways. Nevertheless, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with supporting scientific research for its own sake instead of in subordination to mission-oriented activity, and, in fact, the United States has made a grave mistake in not recognizing much sooner the desirability of concentrating support for basic research in those agencies that have research as a primary task. The threatened congressional committees and mission-oriented agencies would certainly resist such a change of front, and it must be admitted that the national interest requires the safeguarding of

the Defense Department's strong links with basic research. But what, after all, are administrations for, if not for striking balances between the conflicting claims of competing agencies? It would not be necessary to create a new Government department to administer the concentrated research resources. Current needs are more modest than that, and the National Science Foundation, if adequately funded, could manage to meet them.

1748
Zavialov, L. WHO FORMULATES POLICY IN AMERICA TODAY? International affairs (Moscow) no. 5, May 1970: 48-54. D839.I465, 1970

Reviews the origins and growth of the American military-industrial complex and discusses its aggrandizement by the present American administration.

III. INSTITUTIONS AND MEANS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

INTERNATIONAL LAW

1749
Bowman, Alfred C. LIMITS AND POSSIBILITIES OF WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW. American Bar Association journal, v. 56, Feb. 1970: 159-164.
LL

Criticizes the World Peace Through Law Center for excessive and unrealistic concern with methods of preventing war and neglect of methods to mitigate or end hostilities once they have begun. Bowman urges that greater attention be paid to armistice law, the law of occupied and extraterritorial defense areas, territorial interpleaders, the laws of war, and the procedural law of peace neogtiations.

1750
Bracht, Hans W. [FUNDAMENTALS OF A EUROPEAN PEACE ORDER] Grundprinzipien einer europäischen Friedensordnung. [Hannover, Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung. Friedensprobleme, Heft 5) JX1963.B715

Contents.--General prerequisites of a general European peace order.--The idea of human rights as a basis for a general European peace order.--A general European peace order in the frame of peaceful coexistence.--A general European peace order and the Marxist-Leninist understanding of international law.--International law bases for a general European peace order.

Outlines Western and Soviet legal concepts of a European peace order and considers the ideological influence on the corresponding Soviet international law doctrine.

1751
THE CODIFICATION AND PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. Australia. Dept. of External Affairs. Current notes on international affairs, v. 40, Nov. 1969: 632-637.
JX1162.A33, v. 40

In the United Nations context, the progressive development of international law is a consensual process that requires for its completion the drafting of international treaties that become binding on the participating countries. While international law does not carry the force of national law, it is already one of the foundations of peace on the international plane. Australia's own extensive part in codification of international law has been influenced by two general considerations. The first is the need to cooperate in building a new legal framework for such unprecedented developments as man's entry into space. The other consideration is the promotion of an ordered system of behavior in the relationship of national states.

1752
Hoffman, Gerhard. [GERMAN PARTITION; CONSTITUTIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LAW ASPECTS] Die deutsche Teilung, staats- und völkerrechtliche Aspekte. [Pfullingen] Neske [1969] 102 p. (Politik in unserer Zeit, v. 13) DD257.25.H6
Includes legislation.
Bibliographical notes: p. 95-100.
Revised version of lectures delivered in September 1966 and September 1968 at the International University of Comparative Sciences, Luxembourg.

Contents.--Foreword.--Introduction: the legal status of the German Reich, German Federal Republic, and the German Democratic Republic and their mutual relations.--Dispute on theories.--The concept of a state.--The legal status of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.--The legal relationship of the two parts of Germany to the German Reich.--The legal nature and general content of existing relations between the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.--Legal and political consequences of the partition of Germany.--Appendix.--Notes.--Index of persons and subjects.

Explains that the principle of self-determination of nations cannot serve as a basis under international law for the German claim to reunification and that the American, British, and French declaration of October 1954 on German reunification constitutes no legal obligation by the Three Powers toward the German Federal Republic, but only a moral and political one.

1753
Kabermann, Heinz. [THE ENEMY-STATE CLAUSES] Die Feindstaatenklauseln. Politische Welt, v. 13, Jan. 1970: 27-29. D839.P65, v. 13

Points out that the U.N. Charter does not allow U.N. members to apply the enemy-state clauses independent of a joint decision by charter signatories. Thus the longstanding Soviet claim to the right of unilateral intervention in the German Federal Republic is baseless. The clauses have long been obsolete, and the Western Allies have renounced their rights to them. However, any renunciation-of-force agreement between the German Federal Republic and the Soviet Union would be

only unilateral and thus undesirable for West Germany, if Moscow failed to renounce clearly its alleged right to such an intervention.

1754
McClain, Allan. THE PUEBLO SEIZURE IN A BETTER ORDERED WORLD. University of Pittsburgh law review, v. 31, winter 1969: 255-274.
LL

Analyzes the legal issues involved in the seizure of the U.S.S. Pueblo by North Korea. McClain focuses on the legal status of electronic intelligence and considers the legal implications of three possible locations of the Pueblo immediately before and at the time of seizure. He concludes that the United States has adopted a contradictory policy toward North Korea, refusing to recognize its government as a responsible member of the world community but demanding that it conform to the principles of international law.

1755
Mahnke, Hans H. SOVIET DOCTRINE--INTERNATIONAL LAW. Central Europe journal, v. 18, May 1970: 159-167.
DB200.7.S74, v. 18

Whereas classical international law does recognize intervention in certain instances, modern international law advocates a general ban on intervention; even the Soviet doctrine of international law generally repudiates intervention, and as we know, the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different societal forms is based on the tenet of non-intervention. Non-intervention is, in fact, a leading principle of Soviet foreign policy. Withal, the Soviet Union has been guilty of several infractions against the intervention ban as, for example, in the fall of 1956 in Hungary, and in August 1968 in Czechoslovakia. During the occupation of Czechoslovakia there came into play a kind of Soviet Monroe Doctrine, with the countries of the Warsaw Pact being considered a homogeneous Socialist Grossraum. A justification of such forms of intervention was proclaimed in a programmatic speech of Brezhnev, thus marking the birth of the doctrine bearing his name. That calls into question the so-called "regional intervention" (a right to interfere in certain security areas despite the general intervention ban), as for example, the intervention of United States troops during the rising in Santo Domingo in April 1965. All of these things are related to the Federal Republic of Germany, since Arts. 53 and 107 of the UN Charter acknowledge the right of a victorious power in World War II to intervene against Germany. Even though this so-called "Enemy State" article has long since lost its effectiveness among the Western Powers, there has been no equivalent statement made on the part of the Soviet Union vis-a-vis the Federal Republic. Let it be noted, however, that any military intervention of the USSR would mean, according to the NATO Treaty, a casus belli for the Western Alliance. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1756
Schwebel, Stephen. WHAT WEIGHT TO CONQUEST? American journal of international law, v. 64, Apr. 1970: 344-347. JX1.A6, v. 64

An editorial that distinguishes between aggressive and defensive conquests in order to explain Israel's title, under international law, to those parts of former Palestine that were not under Jordanian or Egyptian sovereignty before the 1948 Arab-Israeli War and were conquered by Israel in 1967. Recognition of Israeli sovereignty over that territory by such outside parties as the United States would be lawful under the United Nations Charter and subsequent international law.

1757
Stravropoulos, Constantin A. THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 1945-1970. UN monthly chronicle, v. 7, June 1970: 78-84.
JX1977.A1U564, v. 7

Describes the U.N. role in the development of international law, distinguishing between the organization's part in fostering this development in the very widest sense and the application and evolution of legal norms in a narrower sense. General Assembly resolutions "have come to play a substantial part in determining State practice in international law and in the creation and interpretation of international legal obligations." Settling international disputes through recourse to formal means like the International Court of Justice has been discouraging, and the parties to a dispute will continue keeping it alive rather than entrusting it to a third-party settlement. Separate and permanent legal bodies like the International Law Commission and the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law, legal subcommittees engaged in the study of rules to encompass scientific and technological advances, and working groups, one of which is currently deliberating the question of defining aggression, are involved in the formulation of specific legal rules and norms. Often overlooked in terms of the U.N. contribution to international law are such publications of the organization as the Yearbook of the International Law Commission, United Nations Legislative Series, Reports of International Arbitral Awards, and the United Nations Juridical Yearbook.

1758
Van Dyke, Vernon. HUMAN RIGHTS, THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD COMMUNITY. New York, Oxford University Press, 1970. 292 p.
JC585.V276
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--What are human rights? --International obligations concerning human rights.--The problem of implementation.--Conclusion.--Notes.--Index.

Considers the American and international organization policies on international action to enforce the observance by states of human rights and con-

tends that war or an action involving serious risk of war should not be used to guarantee those rights.

1759
Weiler, Heinrich. [VIETNAM: AN INTERNATIONAL LAW ANALYSIS OF THE AMERICAN WAR AND ITS PREHISTORY] Vietnam: eine völkerrechtliche Analyse des amerikanischen Krieges und seiner Vorgeschichte. Vorwort von Wolfgang Abendroth. Frankenthal, H. Wolf, 1969. 362 p.
JX1573.W39
Bibliography: p. 341-354.

Contents.--Foreword.--pt. 1. The international law importance and political significance of the Geneva armistice agreement and concluding declarations of the conference. The legal nature and legal binding force of the Geneva final acts. Specific cases of violation of the agreement. The people's revolution in South Vietnam as a consequence of the violation of the Geneva agreement and discrimination by the Diem regime against their opponents. American justifications for violating the agreement.--pt. 2. American escalation in Vietnam. Political and military development from 1954 until the present. U.S. intervention as a violation of international law. American intervention in Vietnam in regard to the international law ban on aggression.--pt. 3. War crimes and crimes against mankind, including genocide. International law norms on the conduct of war and their applicability to the Vietnam War. War crimes. Crimes against mankind and genocide.--Conclusion. International law aspects of a solution to the Vietnamese question.--Appendix.

Considers American military intervention and war conduct in Vietnam a gross violation of international law and points out that proposals by the National Liberation Front and the Geneva agreement offer the proper solution to the Vietnamese problem.

1760
Wright, Quincy. THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM. American journal of international law, v. 64, Apr. 1970: 270-281. JX1.A6, v. 64

The November 22, 1967, Security Council resolution provides a basis for a Middle East settlement because it upholds "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war," the need to work for a peace in which each state can live in security, and the obligation of all U.N. members to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of any state. The withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and the renunciation of a "state of war" and the recognition of Israel by the Arab States must be simultaneous. Although the Arab States, with the exception of Syria, have accepted the first principle, Israel's occupation remains the major obstacle to a settlement. "This obstacle might be overcome by providing that the occupied territories . . . should not be re-occupied by Arab states after Israeli withdrawal, but by the United Nations." The organization should seek an agreement by Israel and its Arab neighbors to negotiate permanent boundaries and, if agreement is not reached within a year, to agree on a third-party forum like the Security Council, the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice, or an ad hoc tribunal composed of neutral arbitrators. If the major issues of Israeli withdrawal and Arab renunciation of hostility can be settled, minor issues like free navigation for Israel through the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran and the problems of the refugees and Jerusalem can be resolved.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

1761
Ball, Mary M. THE OAS IN TRANSITION. Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1969. xxii, 721 p. map.
F1402.B27

Partial contents.--pt. 1. Evolution, principles, and general structure of the OAS: The evolution of inter-American organization. Principles underlying the inter-American system. The structure of the Organization of American States.--pt. 2. Organs and agencies.--pt. 3. Activities: Pacific settlement and hemisphere defense. Other political questions. The OAS in transition.

A study of the organization and functioning of the Organization of American States.

1762
Becker, Benjamin M. IS THE UNITED NATIONS DEAD? Philadelphia, Whitmore Pub. Co. [1969] xvii, 163 p. JX1977.B36
Bibliography: p. 161-163.

Contents.--Foreword.--Preface.--The purposes of the United Nations.--The Middle East crisis and UN paralysis.--The Czechoslovakia crisis and the UN.--United Nations accomplishments.--The state of the UN--its problems and shortcomings.--Continuing crisis in the UN.--Sidestepping or ignoring the UN.--UN unwillingness or inability to act.--UN peacemaking and peacekeeping.--Tyranny of the UN minority nations--the "mini-state" problem.--Soviet Russia and the UN.--China and the UN.--U.S. foreign policy and the UN.--Realism about the UN.--National sovereignty and the UN.--Strengthening the UN.--The world without the UN.

Considers various problems facing the United Nations that call into question its viability as a peacemaking and peacekeeping force in the world. In his examination of the relations of the major powers with the United Nations, Becker concludes that the United Nations has made some progress despite the intransigence of the Soviet Union, that the admission of Communist China would add an imposing obstacle to the functioning of the United Nations although it would improve contact and communication between China and the rest of the world, and that the United States has found the United Nations to be a useful supplement to its

foreign policy even if unilateral action has sometimes been necessary,e.g., in Vietnam. Despite its shortcomings, Becker sees no alternative to the United Nations and urges reforms that will make it an effective instrument of peace.

1763
Chai, Winberg. CHINA AND THE UNITED NATIONS: PROBLEMS OF REPRESENTATION AND ALTERNATIVES. Asian survey, v. 10, May 1970: 397-409.
DS1.A492, v. 10
Bibliographical footnotes.

Presents a chronological and statistical recapitulation of the debate on representation in the United Nations, summarizes conflicting legal interpretations of the General Assembly's resolution on the problem, surveys Chinese attitudes toward the United Nations, and suggests that the representation question could be resolved without violating Chinese sovereignty through the implementation of the "one China, two delegations" formula. Each Government would receive half a vote, pending a new charter amendment that would give two votes to the Chinese delegations in the General Assembly and one vote to Communist China in the Security Council. If either government dissolved, the other would represent China as provided under the original U.N. Charter. This proposal has a legal base and precedent and might well induce both parties to solve their dispute politically. Chai concludes that Communist China is again interested in becoming a member of the United Nations.

1764
Dehousse, Jean M. [INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS; ATTEMPT AT A GENERAL THEORY] Les organisations internationales; essai de théorie générale. Liège, P. Gothier [1968?] vi, 428 p.
JX1995.D37
Bibliography: p. 405-414.

Contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. International cooperation. The organization of international society. Typology of international organizations. Structure of international organizations.--pt. 2. Phenomenology of international organizations. Genesis of an international organization: the San Francisco Conference. The coming of age of an international organization: G.A.T.T. The activity of an international organization: the I.L.O.

Combines an introduction to the legal theory of international organizations with a description of the origins, development, and present mode of operation of three selected international organizations. Basic concepts of methodology and history, the criteria for classification and analysis, and the structural forms of international organizations are discussed in the first part. The emphasis throughout is on the articulation of the internal structural elements. In part two the history of the United Nations is examined to represent the birth of an international organization, GATT's in relation to its assumption of structure and function, and ILO's in relation to its activity. The method here is that of vertical analysis.

1765
Etzioni, Minerva M. THE MAJORITY OF ONE: TOWARDS A THEORY OF REGIONAL COMPATIBILITY. With a pref. by Richard A. Falk. Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Publications [1970] 238 p.
JX1979.E78
Bibliography: p. [234]-238.

Contents.--Preface, by Richard A. Falk.--Towards a new theory of international organization.--Regional and universal forces at the founding of the United Nations.--The United Nations Charter: regional and universal clauses.--The cold war and the rise of incompatible regionalism: tendencies after San Francisco.--Incompatibility in the peaceful settlement of disputes at the regional level.--Incompatibility in the adoption of enforcement action at the regional level.--Notes.--References.

Proposes a theory of international organization utilizing a distinction between compatible and incompatible forms of regionalism. Etzioni investigates relations between the United Nations and the Organization of American States to determine the organizational, legal, and political conditions that favor or disfavor harmonious relations between regional and universal organizations. She reviews the history of regional and universal issues involved in the formation of the United Nations and the Organization of American States and examines several crisis situations in which the latter has manifested an increasing tendency toward regional incompatibility, primarily as the result of its domination by the United States. She concludes "that regional incompatibility cannot be justified either logically--in terms of the essential functions of regional and universal organizations--or politically--in terms of the actual power relationships of the postwar world" and urges "the creation of compatible regional organizations and a predominant universal one" as a prerequisite for a peaceful and just world order.

1766
Gardner, Richard N. CAN THE UNITED NATIONS BE REVIVED? Foreign affairs, v. 48, July 1970: 660-676.
D410.F6, v. 48

It is evident that the United Nations, in spite of its accomplishments during the past 25 years, is unable to deal with the basic problems of the world and has diminished in importance and relevance, particularly in the eyes of its traditional leading supporter, the United States. There are 10 specific areas in which the effectiveness of the United Nations can be improved: membership should be made universal, including all the divided nations, with Communist China replacing Taiwan on the Security Council; the procedures of the General Assembly should be streamlined; the gap between voting power and real power should be reduced by providing associate membership for mini-states and a greater role for middle powers; U.N. peacekeeping machinery should be strengthened; new methods of instituting the peaceful settlement of disputes should be devised; institutional reform

is necessary to increase the efficiency of technical assistance programs; new committees should be established to deal with scientific and technological problems, especially the use of outer space and the seabed and the control of population and environmental pollution; more attention should be given to the implementation of the laws of human rights; the Secretariat should be revitalized; and the system of budget preparation and financial management should be overhauled. The active leadership and support of the United States is essential if the United Nations is to be revived and will necessitate a reorientation of U.S. foreign policy toward creating international machinery to deal with mankind's common problems.

1767
Haile, Minasse. DOMESTIC JURISDICTION; UNITED NATIONS CONSIDERATION OF DOMESTIC QUESTIONS AND OF THEIR INTERNATIONAL EFFECTS. Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Pub. Share Co. [1968] 134 p.
JX4173.H37 1968

Originally presented as the author's thesis, Columbia, 1961, under title: United Nations Consideration of Domestic Questions and of Their International Effects.
Bibliography: p. [131]-134.

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction.--pt. 1. The problem of intervention: Theories of "intervention." Determination of competence. Proposed action and "intervention."--pt. 2. The problem of domestic jurisdiction: General considerations. Domestic jurisdiction under the charter.--Conclusion.--Bibliography.

"Approaches the problem of domestic jurisdiction from a rather theoretical point of view in an attempt to construct a comprehensive framework that would tend to explain rationally the practice of the United Nations" in regard to the limitation of the sovereignty of U.N. members by the U.N. Charter. Haile describes the legal limitations of U.N. jurisdiction over matters that are within the domestic jurisdiction of U.N. members.

1768
Pearson, Lester B. THE U.N. AT 25. Saturday review, v. 53, June 27, 1970: 16-18, 42. illus.
Z1219.S25, v. 53

The record of the United Nations during its first 25 years is cause for both satisfaction and disappointment. Critics of the United Nations should remember that it is not a superstate and that its effectiveness will continue to be limited until member states, particularly the great powers, achieve a greater sense of international commitment and responsibility. Structural revision of the United Nations is essential and may be possible only by scrapping the present organization in favor of a new one, but this step should be taken only as a last resort. The Security Council should renew its efforts to strengthen the U.N. peacekeeping forces and should be expanded to include more Asian and African nations. The United Nations should participate more actively in economic development and birth control and should increase its responsibilities in the fields of environmental pollution and the use of outer space and the seabed. Finally, "the General Assembly [should] authorize the Secretary General to appoint three well-qualified individuals of broad experience and high reputation to report to him their personal views on what should be done to make the United Nations function more effectively."

1769
THE UN'S TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. International journal, v. 25, spring 1970: 239-404.
D839.I5, v. 25

Contents.--San Francisco in retrospect, by Leland M. Goodrich.--The United Nations as a political institution: a personal retrospect, by H. G. Nicholas.--The United Nations and the development of international law, by Wolfgang Friedmann.--Permanent missions to the United Nations, by E. Appathurai.--The United Nations and the politics of the Korean War, by Denis Stairs.--"Power politics" and the United Nations, by Ruth B. Russell.--The United Nations and the non-member states, by Jochen A. Frowein.--International crises, the great powers, and the United Nations, by Robert Rhodes James.--The role of the great powers in the United Nations system, by Andrew Boyd.--Prospects for peacekeeping, by J. King Gordon.--Mediation or enforcement? by John W. Holmes.

Articles on significant aspects of U.N. history and the current role of the organization in international politics. Goodrich and Nicholas offer general assessments of the U.N. record in political affairs; Friedmann, an analysis of its impact on the growth of international law and legal institutions; Stairs, an estimate of "the degree to which national decision-makers, as a result of the United Nations' embroilment in the [Korean] conflict, found themselves operating within a restructured decision-making environment." Russell urges that an effort be made "to bring all the divided countries (as the most critical areas of tension) into the organization" while Frowein discusses a related matter, the value of universality to an international peace organization. James and Boyd examine the organization's relations with the great powers, and Gordon, its usefulness in enforcing the peace between smaller states. Holmes compares the virtues of collective security or enforcement procedures with those of mediation and "therapeutic" techniques as means of promoting international peace.

1770
United Nations. YEARBOOK, 1967. New York, United Nations, 1969. JX1977.A37Y4, 1967

Contents.--pt. 1. The United Nations: Political and security questions. Economic and social questions. Questions relating to trust and non-self-governing territories and the declaration on granting independence. Legal questions. Administrative and budgetary questions.--pt. 2. The inter-governmental organizations related to the United Nations.--Appendices.--Indices.

The 21st in a series of yearbooks designed to "provide a continuing historical account of the efforts that go into the functioning and development of the United Nations as an essential instrument for . . . organized international co-operation." Materials relevant to disarmament include studies on the use of nuclear weapons and the endeavor to ensure their nonproliferation, the promotion of the peaceful uses of the seabed and ocean floor, and various aspects of the peaceful uses of outer space. The political and security questions summarized for the report year are U.N. peacekeeping operations; the problems of Africa, Asia, and Latin America; and the Middle East situation, Cyprus, and Greek-Turkish relationships. The U.N. interest in the promotion of international law and the activities of the specialized agencies like the International Atomic Energy Agency are described.

1771
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS. Hearings, Ninety-first Congress, second session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 345 p. KF27.F648 1970

Reviews the achievements and failures of the United Nations since 1945, examines its present and potential roles in peacekeeping and arms control, and assesses its prospects for the 1970's. The hearings included brief statements by Charles W. Yost, George W. Ball, James R. Wiggins, Henry Cabot Lodge, James J. Wadsworth, Seymour Finger, Joseph E. Johnson, Lincoln Bloomfield, Francis Wilcox, Christopher Phillips, Richard Gardner, Arthur Barber, and Arthur J. Goldberg.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY FORCES

1772
Bradley, Dermot. [THE ARMED FORCES OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC] Die Streitkräfte der Republik Irland. Wehrkunde, v. 19, Feb. 1970: 92-94. U3.W396, v. 19

Gives the historical background of the Irish Armed Forces and discusses their present strength, organization, and role in U.N. peacekeeping operations in the Congo, Cyprus, and the Near East. The Irish Armed Forces lag far behind those of the NATO countries in modern weaponry, but their main task is to support Ireland's unarmed police in an emergency.

1773
Garvey, Jack I. UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING AND HOST STATE CONSENT. American journal of international law, v. 64, Apr. 1970: 241-269. JX1.A6, v. 64

Examines the U.N. performance in the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) from Egypt in 1967. Secretary General U Thant's handling of the Egyptian demand for withdrawal, which departed from the procedure envisioned by the founders of UNEF, helped Nasser blockade the Gulf of Aqaba and facilitated the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli War. Contrary to U Thant's contention, the UNEF mandate rested not on the Good Faith Accord of 1957 between the Secretary General and Egypt, but rather on Egyptian acceptance of the General Assembly resolution of November 1956, which limited Egypt's sovereign right to require withdrawal. The "documentary background of UNEF outlines a fairly definite procedural structure which embraces the value of delay and was intended as an instrument by which peace might be maintained in the event of host state demand for withdrawal." As interpreted by Dag Hammarskjöld, the accord provided the possibility for delay and other diplomatic processes that could decelerate a crisis more effectively than international adjudication. The legal formalism of U Thant and his insistence on a very specific meaning of the General Assembly resolutions, which purposely used indefinite terms, created a damaging precedent for future peacekeeping operations. However, U Thant's action has not overruled the Hammarskjöld interpretation of the peacekeeping law as a procedural provision for diplomatic crisis solving, not just a body of rules for courtroom dialectic. The law, so conceived and interpreted, can contribute invaluably to peacekeeping. Its apparent vagueness and the very generality of its language give it the necessary flexibility and dynamism to make the institutional mechanism of peacekeeping work.

OTHER PROCESSES, PLANS, AND PROPOSALS

1774
Chopra, Maharaj K. PEACEMAKING IN THE INDOCHINA STATES. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, July 1970: 70-76. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 50

The peacemaking machinery in Indochina that evolved out of the Geneva conferences "is in such bad shape that many are apt to look upon it only in negative terms." However, negative assessments do not consider the adverse conditions under which the machinery has functioned. In reality, only Communist China has suggested that the peacemaking functions be abolished. On several occasions the machinery has been useful and has established valuable experience on peacemaking problems. An Indochina settlement and a peacemaking apparatus to achieve it depend on a broad rapport among the countries involved, particularly the great powers. Because the issues are of such dimensions, their settlement may require something wider than the Geneva conference along with some modifications of the objectives, content, and techniques of the Geneva agreements.

1775
Duckwitz, Georg F. SECURITY POLICY AND EUROPEAN SECURITY. Aussenpolitik; German foreign affairs review, v. 21, no. 1, 1970: 5-13.
Ser
Translation of an article in the March 1970 issue of Aussenpolitik.
D839.A885, v. 21

West and East alike are in search of a new security system for Europe which will enhance the degree of security existing up to now. The author describes such a new security system as being worth the attempt only if at the same time it will impinge upon solutions in the political area which appear unattainable within the present system. Both World Powers have begun talks on limiting strategic armament, they are gradually becoming conscious of the laws of proportion in international actions, and they are trying to avoid anything unrealistic. Europe and the powers sharing interests in this Continent might try to find and develop a parallelism of interests. The solution of the German problem thus can lie only at the end of a very long and drawn-out process. But from the beginning a matter-of-fact atmosphere between the Federal Republic and the [German Democratic Republic] would have to prevail and relations inside Germany improve. The discussion on security has as its ultimate goal the establishment of a peace order for the whole of Europe. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1776
Hartke, Vance. THE PEACE DEPARTMENT. Playboy, v. 17, May 1970: 135-136, 230-232.
AP2.P69 Rare Bk Coll, v. 17

A Department of Peace is needed to counteract the trend toward militarism in the United States. The idea for such a department was first proposed in 1792 and has had numerous sponsors in recent years. Its functions would be to recommend policies and programs to foster peace, coordinate the activities of all Government agencies directed toward this end, cooperate with other nations in the peaceful resolution of international disputes, and facilitate the exchange of ideas and persons with other countries. It would have jurisdiction over the present Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and would include a newly established International Peace Institute. A Department of Peace would not duplicate the activities of the State Department, which frequently tends to stimulate rather than retard the tendency toward militarism. Nor would it compete with the President in the field of foreign policy but would instead provide an alternative perspective free of short-term strategic considerations. "A nation must defend those interests that are essential to its survival; but the creation of a Department of Peace will symbolize our realization that first among those interests is the preservation of the nation's sense of moral responsibility."

1777
Matveev, V. EUROPEAN SECURITY AND NATO. International affairs (Moscow) no. 2/3, Mar. 1970: 88-92, 137. D839.I465, 1970

NATO leaders are trying delaying tactics against popular insistence for acceptance of the Socialist countries' clear-cut proposals for an all-European conference with a concrete agenda. While West European disbelief in any "Soviet menace" continues to grow, NATO leaders proclaim that the alliance is endangered by steps to détente taken by the states on their own initiative. By making NATO approval for a conference a condition of its convocation, the NATO leadership in effect has transformed an all-European security conference into a dialog between two blocs. The December 1969 declaration of the NATO Council session that calls for nonintervention in the internal affairs of any state is an attack on the principle of the fraternal solidarity of the Socialist countries. Similarly, the questions raised by the NATO Council about Germany are matters for the signatories of the Potsdam agreement only and not for a European security conference. The United States is trying to use the Atlantic mechanism to sabotage European peace and security.

1778
Mehnert, Klaus. [A PLAN FOR THE WEST: ONE CAN FACE MOSCOW ONLY CONSTRUCTIVELY] Ein Plan für den Westen: Man kann Moskau nur konstruktiv gegenübertreten. Christ und Welt, v. 23, Jan. 2, 1970: 3-4.
BR4.C37, v. 23

The West should respond to an expected Soviet plan for European security with its own plan, which would consider the interests of all European nations and of Europe's "flank powers" like the United States and would evoke popular support in Eastern Europe. The United States must not be excluded from a European security conference, which will certainly entail long-lasting negotiations. For obvious reasons the attitudes of most East European states, on the one hand, and of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, on the other, differ as to whether the negotiations should be bilateral and multilateral or only multilateral. In its own interest Bonn should neither agree to nor put forward any preconditions for the conference, but it must request that the agenda include German reunification, the security of access routes to Berlin, a ban on superpower intervention, and free East-West traffic of persons, ideas, and goods. In no case should the sociopolitical status quo in Europe become stipulated in an East-West agreement despite Soviet bloc desires.

1779
Moch, Jules S. [THE FATE OF PEACE] Destin de la paix. [Paris] Mercure de France, 1969. 301 p.
JX1952.M537
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Foreword.--pt. 1. Yesterday's dream: Three thousand years of aspirations for peace. A

century of humanitarian efforts. From Hiroshima to the loss of atomic monopoly (1945-1949). From the atomic era to the thermonuclear era (1949-1953). The time of hope (1953-1955). ICBM (1956-1957). Paralysis and various attempts (1958-1959). A new round of negotiations: the "Ten" (1960).--pt. 2. Today's realities: The "18" and general disarmament. The nuclear test ban. Nonproliferation. Denuclearized zones. Delivery systems and ABM. From space to the ocean depths. Bans on the use of arms. Military bases and the arms trade. The situation in 1969. The fate of peace.--Tables.--List of abbreviations.--Index of names.

Traces individual and international efforts toward disarmament and peace and the difficulties involved. Moch argues that there can be no true peace without disarmament, since an armed peace is nothing more than an armistice between wars. He advocates the settlement of international disputes and the creation of an international system to maintain peace but admits that the latter would be difficult, since it challenges the unlimited nature of a nation's sovereignty.

1780
Morozov, G. THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT AND "PEACE RESEARCH" IN THE WEST. International affairs (Moscow) no. 5, May 1970: 97-102.
D839.I465, 1970

The scientists and other members of the moderate bourgeoisie who make up the Western antiwar movement are disqualified by their class backgrounds from understanding the Communist community and the real nature of social conflict. Their activity has resulted in the emergence of a new science, peace research, which has attracted a variety of bourgeois scientists with very varied politics. Despite their basically unscientific approach to class struggle phenomena, these scientists have contributed much valuable information on the implications for peace of such technical areas as microbiology, seismology, and space and ocean research. There are no generally accepted principles for this new science. Many workers study the causes of any conflict within a society, a fact that reveals the bourgeois nature of their basic conception. Some propose to attain peace by the imposition of supranational organs or world agrarian reform; others see convergence as the answer to East-West conflict. Ignoring the Marxist approach, Western scientists attempt mechanically to introduce the methods of natural science into the study of social phenomena. The work of the Stockholm and Oslo institutes is flawed by this methodology. While no simple assessment of the overall significance of Western peace research is possible, it is assumed that it will contribute to spreading the understanding that stable peace cannot be secured without the Socialist countries.

1781
Rikon, Irving. PEACE AS IT CAN BE. New York, Philosophical Library [1970] xiv, 188 p.
JX1963.R53

Contents.--Introduction.--Prologue.--Public acceptance.--The militant mentality.--The power thirsty.--The seeming conflicts of ideology.--The perversions of faith.--The narcissism of nationalism.--The rivalries of race.--The romance of love and death.--The maze of images and symbols.--The press and communications media.--The momentum of war.--The profits of war.--The lure of adventure, booty, and markets.--The "camaraderie" of conspirators.--The need for "something to do."--The confoundings of culture and class.--The children of revenge.--The poor quality of leadership.--"Lebensraum."--"The seven deadly sins" plus two.--Two non-barriers become barriers.--Fear and xenophobia.--The wrong emphases.

Identifies major obstacles to world peace and suggests ways to surmount them.

1782
Sanokoev, SH. A PEACEFUL FUTURE FOR THE CONTINENT; PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. Daily review, translations from the Soviet press, v. 16. June 10, 1970: pt. 2, [item] 1, 1-5.
Slav Rm
Translated from Izvestiia, June 1970.
Slav Rm

A convocation of an all-European security conference will represent the practical implementation of the Leninist doctrine of peaceful coexistence. The success of such a conference will depend on the recognition of the European status wrought by the peace treaties that ended World War II. The communique from the recent Rome session of the North Atlantic Council, originally called to consider common tactics against the Soviet proposal, indicates that popular opinion is forcing Western leadership to accept the conference. Throughout the long history of the call for a security conference, Soviet policy has been at once consistent and flexible. The key feature of Socialist foreign policy is that on fundamental issues the Socialist countries act together--a fact that was reemphasized by Brezhnev on the visit to Prague of the Soviet Party and Government delegation.

1783
Shore, William I. FACT-FINDING IN THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE. Pref. by A. J. P. Tammes. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., Oceana Publications, 1970. 183 p.
JX1952.S645

Contents.--Introduction.--Historical survey of fact-finding.--Fact-finding experience in international disputes of international organizations.--Other examples of fact-finding in international relations.--Initiating fact-finding under the United Nations Charter.--Operation of fact-finding bodies.--Summary and conclusions.--Appendices.--Selected bibliography.

Traces the role of factfinding in the settlement of international disputes and the maintenance of peace from the Hague Convention of 1899 to the present. Shore describes the organization and

operation of various factfinding bodies and examines their strengths and weaknesses. He notes that factual inquiries have served to eliminate force or the threat of force and to establish the mechanism and basis for the permanent solution of disputes. The greatest limiting factor to the use of factfinding inquiries has been the principle of state sovereignty, which has limited the subject matter of inquiries and the exercise of collective responsibility and has made the consent of parties to disputes mandatory for permanent solutions.

1784
Stefanowicz, Janusz. [POLISH VIEWS ON EUROPEAN SECURITY] Polnische Gesichtspunkte zur Sicherheit Europas. Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, v. 15, Feb. 1970: 130-134.
D839.B57, v. 15

Poland rejects as unrealistic any proposals for European security that envisage the exclusion of the Soviet Union, change existing national boundaries or political regimes, or project a pan-European system that would be a third superpower. The belief that the abrogation of the NATO and Warsaw Pact blocs would mean the end of the military alliances they represent is an illusion. European security can be attained only by such actions as agreements on the renunciation of the use of force and implementation of the nonproliferation treaty and limited measures like the Polish proposal for a nuclear-free central Europe. At the same time, the trade barriers that work to the economic disadvantage of both groups must be broken down. However the West must not expect the East to accept the role of raw material source or import the West's politicosocial ideology along with its finished products.

1785
Weizsäcker, Carl F., Freiherr von. [THE UNSECURED PEACE] Der ungesicherte Friede. Göttingen, Vandehoeck u. Ruprecht [1969] 118 p. (Kleine Vandehoeck-Reihe, 300/301)
CB427.W395

Bibliography: p. 8.
Includes "The Ethical Problem of Modern Strategy" and "On the Art of Prognosis," cited as item 1714 in v. 5, no. 4, and item 341 in v. 6, no. 1, of this bibliography.

Partial contents.--Preface.--Peace and truth.--Belligerence as a psychopathology.--Humanity and neutrality.

Discusses philosophical, theological, and psychological aspects of peace and its practical form. Weizsäcker sees a correlation between the "peace of reason," "the peace of faith," and "the peace of the future" and develops the thesis that mankind's future depends on a politically ensured peace, on further development of a "global domestic policy," and on the development of ethics for a technological world. The supreme "criterion of political actions and interests" should be the preservation of world peace. Without such a concern political institutions will be unable to eliminate belligerence. The author also discusses the roles of neutrality and of the International Red Cross in the service of mankind and peace.

IV. GENERAL ANALYSES AND COMPREHENSIVE APPROACHES

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1786
Conroy, Hilary. JAPAN'S WAR IN CHINA: HISTORICAL PARALLEL TO VIETNAM? Pacific affairs, v. 43, spring 1970: 61-72.
DU1.P13, v. 43

Draws specific parallels between America's involvement in Vietnam and Japan's war in China, emphasizing the similarities in foreign policy arguments and tensions, configurations of internal opinion, declared and implicit goals, tactical military problems, and decisionmaking circumstances producing intervention and escalation. Conroy concludes that while "American democracy may prove to be more adept at the art of extrication than was imperial Japan," the close historic parallel makes more likely an end to the intervention "for merely 'practical' reasons."

1787
International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research. SIPRI YEARBOOK OF WORLD ARMAMENTS AND DISARMAMENTS. 1968/69. New York. Humanities Press [1969] 440 p. illus., maps.
UA10.I55, 1968/69

Contents.--pt. 1. Account of 1968/69: World military expenditure. The technological arms race. Disarmament efforts.--pt. 2. Reference material: Military expenditure and the trade in arms. The technological arms race. Disarmament. Conflicts.--Glossary of modern warfare.

First of a projected annual series analyzing armament and disarmament issues on a worldwide scale, which begins with systematic presentations of recent developments in world military expenditures, the arms technology race, the arms trade with the Third World, and efforts at disarmament. The dimensions of Soviet military programs are estimated from the scanty official data. Aspects of the technological arms race studied include submarine-launched ballistic missiles, chemical and biological weapons, helicopters, and image intensifiers. The subsection on disarmament efforts written in anticipation of the strategic arms limitation talks concludes that the American testing of the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle means "a further step in the arms race . . . which will then be extremely difficult to reverse." Reference materials supporting the initial presentation, including chronologies of the relevant events and data tables, are given in the following section. Tables list national military expenditures in constant and current prices and provide materials for a detailed study of the international arms trade. The count of nuclear explosions shows them to have been more frequent after than before the limited test ban treaty, and the continuing real possibility of an accidental nuclear explosion is indicated. The signatures, ratifications, and adherences to five partial disarmament treaties, including the Geneva Protocol, are also listed. Conflicts that have erupted since the end of the Second World War are classified by a specially developed typology and the Nigerian Civil War and the Arab-Israeli crisis outlined chronologically. The publication concludes with a glossary of terms used.

1788
Matveev, V. LESSONS OF HISTORY AND EUROPEAN SECURITY. International affairs (Moscow) no. 6, June 1970: 9-14.
D839.I465, 1970

Draws the historical parallel between Western diplomacy's "sabotage" of Soviet efforts to set up a collective security front in the 1930's and the obstacles now being raised by Atlantic leaders against the European security conference. However, today it is not a question of military and political measures to eliminate the threat of aggression but of political steps to exclude the emergence of such a threat. This new emphasis reflects the general shift of the balance of forces in the world in favor of socialism, progress, and peace.

1789
Noorani, A. G. INDIA AND ASIAN SECURITY. World today, v. 26, Mar. 1970: 110-117.
D410.W63, v. 26

The chief features of Mr. Nehru's Asian policy were negative, his resistance to regional political organizations and collective security arrangements, and positive, his efforts to create a "special relationship" with Communist China. Except that the Soviet Union has assumed the place once held by the Chinese, this also describes the policy of his successor, Mrs. Gandhi. India's response to Soviet proposals for new economic and security arrangements for Asia and India's own call for a joint Soviet-American guarantee may be judged against this background. The initial reaction to the Brezhnev security proposals was skeptical. Indian officials drew a distinction between "military pacts" and a system of guarantees, making clear their preference for the latter and their desire to see it include China. Shortly thereafter, they rejected U.S. offers of a unilateral guarantee, no doubt with the conforting thought that it would be available anyway in case of need. Unfortunately, India's relationship with

the U.S.S.R. permitted less leeway. Its dependence on the Soviet Union for economic and military assistance had never been greater, and for this and other reasons it was compelled to keep in step with Soviet policy. Despite clear evidence that the Brezhnev plan was directed against the Chinese, over a period of months India moved closer to the Soviet position, finally going so far as to characterize Soviet proposals as being in line with its own views on Asian security. It would be wrong, however, to conclude that the old aversion to Asian collective security had evaporated; the only new element in the situation was the tacit admission by Indian officials that an Asian security problem does exist. Unfortunately, "this realization cannot be translated into a coherent policy because of India's distorted notions of non-alignment, her strained relations with Pakistan, and her entente cordiale with Russia in which the latter has the dominant voice."

1790
Roberts, Chalmers M. THE NUCLEAR YEARS; THE ARMS RACE AND ARMS CONTROL, 1945-70. New York Praeger [c1970] 159 p. illus.
JX1974.R54

Contents.--Preface.--Prologue: from Hiroshima to the SALT talks.--The Baruch plan era.--Time of assessment.--First limited agreements.--The mad momentum.--Moving to the table.--Appendix 1: The Baruch plan.--Appendix 2: Aerial inspection proposals submitted by the Western Powers and the Soviet Union.--Appendix 3: Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water.--Appendix 4: Treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, July 1, 1968 (including the U.N. Security Council resolution and the U.S. declaration).--Bibliography.--Index.

History of arms control efforts, which fall into four periods: the era of the Baruch plan (1945-52), the era of assessment by the superpowers (1953-60), the era of limited agreements (1961-67), and the era of nuclear parity, marked by new technological developments that threaten to upset the balance of terror (1968-1970). In contrast to the Soviet Union, which has had only seven chief negotiators since 1946, who "have been well backstopped at the conference table . . . U.S. expertise has waxed and waned." Although experts provide the formulas, the crucial factors in reaching an arms control agreement are "a President's dedication, and . . . the determination of at least a Kremlin majority." Roberts notes that a striking factor during the present period is how much statesmen become both beholden to and captives of the scientists and technicians who expand nuclear knowledge. He concludes with a discussion of new weapons developments like the ABM and the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle and arms control efforts like the proposed seabed agreement and the strategic arms limitation talks.

1791
Speier, Hans. LIMITED PEACE. Orbis, v. 12, winter 1969: 1085-1097. D839.068, v. 12
"Originally presented as a paper at the Fourth Salzburger Humanismus Gespräch, Schloss Klessheim bei Salzburg, September 10-13, 1968."

While peace has been the norm for the industrialized nations since World War II, internal and interstate conflict has been endemic in and between the nonindustrialized and newly independent states. The search for eternal and unlimited peace is unrealistic in present circumstances and could easily lead to a holy or just war with catastrophic consequences. It is better, therefore, to limit conflicts that are almost certain to occur rather than risk total war in an attempt to establish universal peace. Even before the advent of modern technology, limited wars entailed less destruction and suffering than ideological wars. Advocates of utopian and pseudoscientific schemes of peace have shown a willingness to use ruthless measures to achieve their goals, as did Marx and his followers, or have placed an unreasonable faith in the ability of men to resolve their differences through calculation of self-interests, as did McNamara. The most important task today is to prevent nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union. The only just war is one in defense against foreign aggression, a principle that the Soviet Union has defied by its support for wars of national liberation, its occupation of Czechoslovakia, and similar provocative acts.

1792
A SUMMING UP OF THE MOVEMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE JAPAN CONGRESS AGAINST ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN BOMBS. Japan Socialist review, no. 198, Mar. 1, 1970: 1-15. HX9.J3, 1970

Summarizes the history of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs in Japan and assesses its accomplishments, concentrating on the policies and programs of the Japan Congress.

1793
TRINITY + 25 YEARS. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, June 1970: 1-116.
TK9145.A84, v. 26

Contents.--Prologue, by Jane Wilson.--Introduction: twenty-five years later, By Eugene Rabinowitch.--pt. 1: Projection and recollection. Our nuclear future, 1995, by Glenn T. Seaborg. Los Alamos: focus of an age, by Alice K. Smith. Some recollections of July 16, 1945, by Leslie R. Groves. Bombs or reactors? by Laura Fermi. The conscience of a physicist, by R. R. Wilson.--pt. 2: International atom. Japan and the nuclear age, by Ryukichi Imai. Britain in the atomic age, by Rudolf E. Peierls. Controlled nuclear fusion: energy for the distant future, by L. A. Artsimovich. The international atom, by Sigvard Eklund. Atomic energy in continental Western Europe, by J. Gueron.--pt. 3: Application and research. Nuclear energy and the environment, by Alvin M. Weinberg. Nuclear power: rise of an industry, by E.

Creutz. Plowshare at the crossroads, by Gerald W. Johnson. The Rochester conferences: the rise of international cooperation in high energy physics, by Robert E. Marshak.--pt. 4: The military atom. Disarmament problems, by Hans A. Bethe. Nuclear weapons: past and present, by Ralph E. Lapp. Scientists and the decision to bomb Japan, by David H. Frisch.

Articles on "events and developments of the first quarter century of the nuclear age." Part I juxtaposes several retrospective studies of the events surrounding the birth of atomic energy in the United States with Seaborg's optimistic look into the future. Part II is devoted to studies of the nuclear programs of specific countries, Western Europe, and the international community. Part III examines important areas of scientific research and practical application--power generation, explosives engineering, and high-energy physics. In Part IV, Bethe assesses the prospects for controlling the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle, the ABM, and recent increases in missile "throw weight" and concludes that Americans must reconcile themselves to a less-than-perfect result from the strategic arms limitation talks; Lapp recapitulates the major advances in nuclear weaponry over the last 25 years; and Frisch finds in the decision to use nuclear weapons against Japan useful lessons concerning the social responsibilities of scientists.

1794
United Nations. Secretariat. DISARMAMENT: A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1962-1967. [New York] United Nations, 1968. 38 p. (United Nations. [Document] ST/LIB/Ser.B12) DLC

Revised and updated version of 1965 edition.

Contents.--Introductory note.--Periodicals indexed.--General disarmament and arms control.--Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.--Cessation of nuclear weapon tests.--Other collateral measures.--Inspection and verification.--Peace-keeping and political problems related to disarmament.--Military strategy, national military developments and multinational arrangements.--Economic and social aspects.--Legal, moral and psychological aspects.--Other aspects.

Books and periodical articles selected primarily from the holdings of the Dag Hammarskjöld Library.

1795
Wolfe, Thomas W. SOVIET POWER AND EUROPE: 1965-1969. Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp., 1969. xix, 562 p. (Rand Corp. Memorandum, RM-5991-PR) Q180.A1R36 no. 5991

Prepared for the United States Air Force under Project Rand--contract no. F44620-67-C-0045.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--Summary.--Over-all trends in Soviet policy under Khrushchev's successors.--The forging of Soviet European policy under the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime: 1964-1966.--Soviet European policy after the Bucharest Conference.--Soviet policy in East Europe: mid-1966 and mid-1968.--Soviet policy toward Europe in light of the invasion of Czechoslovakia.--Soviet military policy under the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime.--The Soviet military posture toward Europe.--Soviet policy in the setting of a changing power balance.--Notes.

Final part of a three-part study of Soviet political and military policy toward Western Europe since World War II. Wolfe observes that even before the invasion of Czechoslovakia the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime's efforts to capitalize on the U.S. preoccupation with Vietnam had only limited success because of Soviet concern over the gradual erosion of its authority in Eastern Europe. The invasion of Czechoslovakia reestablished the credibility of the Soviet Union's ability to maintain control over Eastern Europe but "shattered the image of a mellowing, peace-loving Soviet Union" and, by creating an impression of Soviet unpredictability, injected new life into NATO. The Kremlin's political goal continues to be the prevention of a united Western policy toward the East. The substantial growth of its strategic forces raises the possibility of a confrontation with the United States through miscalculation, but the possibility of reduced tensions between the superpowers cannot be ruled out.

GENERAL ANALYSES

1796
ARMS CONTROL DISARMAMENT ACT AMENDMENTS, 1970. Remarks in the House of Representatives of the United States, Apr. 28, 1970. Congressional record [daily ed.] 91st Congress, 2d session, v. 116: H3530-H3536. J11.R52, v. 116

Approval by the U.S. House of Representatives of House and Senate bills authorizing $17,500,000 to finance the operations of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in fiscal 1971 and 1972. The House bill also provides for the uniform compensation of Agency Assistant Directors.

1797
Brook, David, comp. SEARCH FOR PEACE; A READER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1970. xiv, 423 p. JX1308.B7

Contents.--Preface.--Does human nature make war inevitable?--Past international systems.--Nationalism.--Sovereignty.--Power in international relations.--Technology and power.--Balance of power.--The role of international law in the struggle to maintain international peace.--International organization.--Building a world community.--Postscript: toward the future; the 1970's and beyond.

A collection of classic essays that "examine the possibilities of obtaining a world order in which war as an institution would cease to exist." The

selections represent the traditional and behavioral approaches to international relations and include sociological, anthropological, and psychological writings. Each section is preceded by an introduction relating it to the main theme.

1798
Byrd, Elbert M. TOWARD A POLICY OF ARMS DISPLACEMENT. Social studies, v. 61, Mar. 1970: 109-119.
D16.3.865, v. 61

Disarmament negotiations since World War II have ended in failure. It is generally recognized that the benefits of arms control would be substantial, but the conditions requisite to agreement--mutual trust and "foolproof" inspection methods--simply do not exist. Fear of the economic consequences of arms reduction adds to the reluctance of Governments to come to terms. Yet, since no nation can afford to play the villain by refusing to negotiate, arms control discussions go doggedly on, though they have degenerated into hopeless disputes over cynical proposals that usually are advanced only to score points in the great propaganda game. Most advantages in this contest belong to the Soviet Union, which indicates that the United States ought to reduce its participation in disarmament discussions until a more promising approach is discovered. One possibility is the strategy of "arms displacement." It is generally agreed that a reduction in armaments expenditures would release resources that are badly needed for important civilian projects. There is no guarantee, however, that the released resources would be spent for things worthwhile. For this and other reasons, a reverse approach commends itself: Let the United States and the Soviet Union first agree to carry out some large-scale engineering project that would absorb a substantial proportion of their national resources. Construction of a Bering Strait tunnel and highway system, mammoth desalinization facilities, smelters to convert war material into articles for peaceful consumption, mines on the seabed, or a million private dwellings and associated mass transit systems in each country illustrate the possibilities. Then, as the allocation of national resources to civilian uses goes up, the allocation of resources to military preparedness will have to go down. The balance of terror would still exist, since its elimination is technologically impossible, but it would operate at a lower level of overkill. This would be a clear gain; for more arms do not mean more security, but less.

1799
CAN WE TRUST THE KREMLIN?--TWO VIEWS. Reader's digest, v. 96, Mar. 1970: 84-92.
AP2.R255, v. 96

Contents.--Soft words vs. hard facts, by Hanson W. Baldwin.--"We stand on common ground," by Hubert H. Humphrey.

Baldwin: America's choices are not between disarming or perishing but rather whether disarmament will improve or reduce the nation's ability to survive. The United States can and must pursue strategic arms limitations, but "it takes two trustworthy parties to get a trustworthy agreement, and trustworthiness can be determined only by deeds, not just words." Inspection systems are not foolproof. While the Russians have talked about relaxing tensions and arms limitation, "so far they have not made one single substantive change in their tough policies." The objective of the Soviet Union's massive and rapid nuclear weapons buildup is clearly to achieve strategic superiority over the United States. To show they are sincerely interested in arms control, the Soviets should implement unilateral reductions in military expenditures and agree to a limited number of on-site inspections. "In the absence of such actions, dare the United States trust mere lip service" or let down its guard? Humphrey: The issue transcends trust. Although none of the important arms agreements depends on trust alone, the record of compliance is good. The signatories realized that the pre-existing situation posed a far greater threat to security than possible repercussions of the agreement itself. It may now be possible to break the upward spiral in strategic arms that dominates U.S.-Soviet relations because the Soviets must know that they have achieved parity with the United States, and American leaders "have realized that pursuit of a mythical lead in the arms race is a will-o'-the-wisp that threatens to devour our hard-earned resources while adding little to our security." Conditional on Soviet reciprocation, the United States should declare a moratorium on further multiple independently targeted reentry vehicle (MIRV) testing and invite the Russians to negotiate a separate agreement banning such tests in the future. This agreement, which is crucial to the success of the U.S.-Soviet missile talks, can be verified by the United States with existing means. The arms race can be halted and reversed by mutual agreement because the superpowers want to survive. Arms control talks with the Soviet Union will be long and difficult, "but, given the terrible risks to which the world will be exposed if the arms race proceeds unimpeded, we have an obligation--in the most profound sense--to try."

1800
Chase, Stuart. AGAINST A COMMON FATE. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, May 1970: 9-10.
TK9145.A84, v. 26

Prior to Hiroshima, the rallying cry of intelligent radicals and reformers was social justice; today it is survival. The nuclear arms race, population explosion, and devastation of the environment threaten mankind with extinction. In these circumstances, demands for justice can no longer take first priority; a militancy that continues to revolve around issues set by the class struggle loses all meaning. Radicals in Berkeley, Tokyo, Paris, and elsewhere, who have demands enough but no program, seem not to have understood what nuclear weapons are capable of doing to the human race. Other men do understand, however, and are trying to do something about it.

Soviet and American delegates have met at Helsinki to begin negotiations on ending the arms race. These men, the official representatives of socialism and capitalism, know what the real issue is. For them, as for all mankind, there "is only the stark question: How can Russians and Americans . . . find a mechanism for staying alive on this planet, a mechanism which in turn will guarantee the continuity of the human race?"

1801
Gelber, Harry G. STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS AND THE SINO-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. Asian survey, v. 10, Apr. 1970: 265-289.
DS1.A492, v. 10

"An earlier version . . . was delivered at the Fourth International Arms Control Symposium, Philadelphia, 17-19 October 1969."

While there might be arguments for a Soviet preemptive strike against Chinese nuclear installations, both sides may have concluded that the only victor in a large-scale Sino-Soviet war would probably be the United States, and there are indications that Russia and China intend to retain the option of limited mutual reconciliation. Although an initial nuclear weapons capability is unlikely to change China's emphasis on conventional capabilities and a low-risk strategy, it could produce important changes in Soviet and American nuclear strategies. A relatively small first-generation Chinese force would significantly increase the risks for the superpowers in a confrontation with China, and their vulnerabilities would increase as Peking acquires ICBM's, which could threaten their ability to maintain internal control and mutual deterrence following a clash with China. The existence of a Chinese nuclear force that is capable of inflicting serious damage on the United States or the U.S.S.R. would force the superpowers to adopt more cautious policies in many situations. The probable medium-term effects of China's nuclear capability make it necessary to draw China into the arms negotiations, yet this does not appear to be feasible in the foreseeable future. Consequently, Russia and the United States are developing ABM's to minimize the impact of Peking's emerging nuclear force on the U.S.-Soviet nuclear balance. The Soviet Union is likely to be cautious about limiting weapons that would leave it more vulnerable to Chinese threats or render the existing nuclear balance liable to destabilization by Chinese nuclear weapons developments. Peking justifiably will denounce strategic arms limitation agreements that obstruct its progress toward some degree of equality in armaments. However, once China acquires a nuclear weapons capability, its policies on nuclear proliferation may change significantly. The conclusion of an overt strategic arms agreement would indicate that the Soviet Union had opted for a reconciliation with the United States and against an accommodation with China.

1802
Giddings, Ralph L. ARMS CONTROL, NO SIMPLE ANSWERS. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 96, Feb. 1970: 41-45.
V1.U8, v. 96

Arms control is a military subject, but the military tends to ignore it. Until military men learn to understand and participate in the arms control effort, they cannot reasonably expect it to result in militarily acceptable aggreements. Understanding must begin at the level of concepts, not concrete programs. Arms control is an aspect of "normal politico-military intercourse," a process rather than a static condition. It is a problem to which there is no Grand Solution. Cooperation and self-restraint in the behavior of states are the conditions of success. The evidence indicates that both are possible, and current policies of deterrence are predicated on this assumption, for "deterrence, like arms control, is an attempt to persuade the enemy of the desirability of exercising restraint." There is a psychological and practical unity between deterrence and arms control. In fact, arms control is "an integral part of any successful national strategy that is based on deterrence." Arms control, a military subject, transcends military bounds, having ramifications in many other areas of national policy. Arms control cannot solve every problem but it can reduce the dangers of international tensions, make violence more manageable, relieve the pressure on national budgets, and, like armaments policy, increase the security of the nation.

1803
Kalicki, J. H. CHINA, AMERICA, AND ARMS CONTROL. World today, v. 26, Apr. 1970: 147-155.
D410.W63, v. 26

Three factors--progress in the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT), improved Sino-American relations, and the continued stalemate in Sino-Soviet negotiations--make inevitable a greater Chinese role in the strategic balance of the 1970's. If China maintains independent foreign and nuclear policies and remains opposed to arms control, "the risks associated with strategic arms limitation will increase--and the benefits decrease--for the super-Powers." The outcome of SALT will depend on Russian and American views of Chinese capabilities, doctrine, and policy, and the superpowers are likely to execute countermeasures against China that will have a destabilizing effect on the nuclear arms race. New possibilities for an improved Sino-American dialogue, particularly important during the present transitional phase of Chinese and American foreign policies, should be welcomed as an opportunity to stabilize the strategic triangle formed by the Soviet Union, the United States, and China. An uneasy regional balance of power, really a cooperative, though often unconscious, deterrence relationship, exists between the United States and China, although Peking's evolving nuclear weapons capability threatens to disturb the Sino-American standoff in Asia. While China might opt for more advanced

bombers to enhance its regional influence or deploy countervalue systems to maximize its challenge to the existing strategic balance, the United States should implement a program of "containment without isolation" in order to encourage the Chinese to become "arms-control-minded." The current U.S. policy of nonalinement in the Sino-Soviet dispute may be appropriate in the short run, but "there are no a priori reasons for remaining non-aligned, and it may well be that the long-term interests of the United States transcend peaceful engagement with the Soviet Union." A bilateral strategy in the 1970's "must redirect both capitals to the long, narrow road leading to eventual Sino-American détente."

1804
Klein, Peter. TOPICAL ISSUES OF DISARMAMENT. German foreign policy, v. 9, no. 2, 1970: 87-99.
DD261.4.D353, v. 9

Reviews the disarmament proposals and attitudes of the Socialist countries, emphasizing the differing responses of the two Germanys. The call for disarmament and détente at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the Budapest appeal of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, the ratification of the nonproliferation treaty, the outlawing of chemical and biological weapons, and the strategic arms limitation talks are the "topical issues" cited in example. Klein concludes that "by a series of practical foreign-political measures during 1969, the government of the GDR has given active support to the disarmament drive of the socialist countries on the basis of the UN-charter."

1805
Newcombe, Alan, and Hanna Newcombe. PEACE RESEARCH AROUND THE WORLD. Oakville, Ont., Canadian Peace Research Institute [1969] 275 p.
DLC

Includes references.

Partial contents.--International systems.--Conflict studies.--Economic studies.--International law.--Disarmament studies.--Protest actions.--Theoretical conclusions.--Policy recommendations.--Research recommendations.

Reviews the theories, methodologies, and classifications of peace research, first surveying 626 sources and then attempting to distill from them the conclusions they draw.

1806
Niezing, Johan. SOCIOLOGY, WAR AND DISARMAMENT: STUDIES IN PEACE RESEARCH. [Rotterdam] Rotterdam University Press, 1970. 131 p.
JX1974.N53

Bibliography: p. 62-64.

Contents.--Preface and acknowledgments.--On the history of disarmament negotiations.--Armers and disarmers, a false dichotomy reconsidered.--Diplomacy: an organization in transition.--United Nations peace-keeping operations as a politicosociological problem.--Peace-keeping forces: public opinion, political attitudes and personality variables.--War as a cultural lag.--On rationality in security planning.--Index.

Sociological studies on professional armers, disarmers, diplomats, and negotiators; U.N. peace-keeping forces and public attitudes toward these forces; the problem of conveying the nature of war to those who have not experienced it; and the relevance of the social sciences to national security policies.

1807
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MEETS AT ROME. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 62, June 22, 1970: 772-775.
JX232.A33, v. 62

Text of the final communique of the regular ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council, held at Rome May 26-27, 1970, together with a Declaration on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions approved at the meeting.

Outlines alliance views on European security, East-West relations, arms control, and problems of the environment. The communique welcomes the continuation of the strategic arms limitation talks at Vienna, reemphasizes the importance of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, notes with interest efforts to negotiate a seabed treaty and deal with chemical and biological weapons, and expresses "the hope that further progress on disarmament measures, with appropriate safeguards, can reduce the arms burdens borne by all." The communique also notes the absence of any meaningful reply to earlier alliance declarations on measures to end the military confrontation in Europe, calls attention to intensive studies on mutual force reductions sponsored by the alliance, and states that the alliance members are ready "to multiply exploratory conversations with all interested parties on all questions affecting peace" and, should these succeed in bringing about some progress, "to explore when it will be possible to convene a conference, or a series of conferences on European security and co-operation." The declaration extends an invitation to all "interested states to hold exploratory talks on mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe, with special reference to the Central Region," and advances a set of principles that the allies have agreed should govern force reductions.

1808
Rabinowitch, Eugene. EUGENE RABINOWITCH: ON THE SOCHI CONFERENCE. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, Apr. 1970: 18-20.
TK9145.A84, v. 26

Summarizes the 19th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs (held October 1969 in Sochi, U.S.S.R.), in which the major concern was arms control. In previous Pugwash meetings, this topic had served as an occasion for self-serving propaganda speeches, but at Sochi it was presented

as a matter of urgent common interest for Washington and Moscow. Rabinowitch covers the activities of two working groups devoted to current conflicts and to the problems of developing nations; a successful mediation effort by Dr. Herbert Markovich, who, according to some reports, paved the way for the Paris negotiations; and future plans for the Pugwash talks, particularly in development assistance.

1809
Schütze, Walter. [RETURN TO EUROPEAN SECURITY] Retour sur la sécurité européenne. Politique étrangère, v. 35, no. 2, 1970: 181-196.
JX3.P6, v. 35

Refering to the study entitled "Models for European Security," published in Politique Étrangère, no. 6-1967, the author returns, after 2 years, to the analyses and perspectives presented in this study. To what extent have they been confirmed or disproved by the events of the past 2 years? In the West, the idea of a regional disarmament plan for Europe, long advocated by the Warsaw Pact members, has found a positive echo in the proposition by NATO to proceed toward a mutual and equal reduction of the present force levels. The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, following the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia, has hardened its position. Elsewhere, West Germany's new policy with respect to Eastern Europe has created a new situation. The other powers, especially the Big Four, must assume the diplomatic and military consequences entailed in the success of the negotiations being carried on by Chancellor Brandt with Moscow, Warsaw, and East Berlin. The exchange of declarations on the renunciation of force, followed by the establishment of normal relations between West Germany and Eastern Europe, could in effect transform a certain number of factors on which Western policy has rested up to now. (Translation of supplied abstract, modified)

1810
Wiesner, Jerome B. ARMS CONTROL: CURRENT PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 26, May 1970: 6-8, 38-39.
TK9145.A84, v. 26

A new opportunity to halt the arms race exists today as a result of the strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union, but President Nixon must avoid the costly errors of his predecessors if he is to take advantage of it. Unfortunately his initial responses to this problem--his decisions to deploy the ABM and multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRV's)--jeopardize the chances for meaningful agreement at the strategic arms limitation talks. It would be much better to halt deployment of both these weapons systems and challenge the Soviet Union to show similar restraint. "If the Soviet Union joined in the moratorium, it could be continued indefinitely; otherwise future U.S. deployment decisions could be related to further Soviet actions." Neither ABM's nor MIRV's are needed to ensure the effectiveness of the U.S. deterrent. Even with a massive first strike utilizing SS-9 missiles equipped with MIRV's and an extensive ABM system to blunt a counterstrike, the Soviet Union could not prevent a devastating retaliatory blow by the United States. It is hardly necessary to have the ability to destroy 40 to 50 percent of Soviet industry in a retaliatory strike, as required by the concept of "assured destruction," to deter a Soviet first strike. A reasonable lower limit for an effective deterrent would be the ability to destroy six or even fewer of the Soviet Union's largest cities, and even the most pessimistic Pentagon scenario would leave a U.S. force that was more than adequate to achieve this. Improved Soviet air and missile defenses would not alter this situation even if they functioned far better than expected. The history of the strategic arms race suggests that "the fiscal and social crisis in the United States, and the extreme pressures for economic development within the socialist block, may provide some of the positive pressures needed to bring about serious disarmament efforts." One way to make use of these pressures would be an agreement requiring every nation to contribute to U.N. peacekeeping forces in proportion to its defense budget. Whatever the specific method, however, it is clear that a strengthened United Nations is the only realistic alternative to a continuation of the present unstable system.

1811
Wright, Quincy. ON PREDICTING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, THE YEAR 2000. Denver, University of Denver [c1969] 42 p. (Social Science Foundation and Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver. Monograph series in world affairs [v. 7] monograph no. 1)
JX1395.W7
Includes bibliographical references.

"What is the probability of a general nuclear war before the year 2000?" Realists and idealists, pure and applied scientists all approach this question according to their own predilections as to what is actual, probable, possible, and desirable. A review of trends toward war or peace since World War II and a survey of the prognoses of various academicians reveal the variety of opinion on this question. Examining the probabilities that the arms race will lead to war, that a minor conflict will escalate into a major war, or that given pairs of states will go to war with each other indicates that nuclear war by the year 2000 is likely, while an analysis of international relations considered as a whole presents a more optimistic view of the chances for peace. Of four models for maintaining universal and durable peace, three--the Pax Ecclesiastica, Pax Romana, and Pax Britannica based, respectively, on universal religion, universal empire, and balance of power--appear either undesirable or unfeasible in present circumstances, while the fourth, international organization based on coexistence and cooperation, offers at least the prospect of peace. A viable international organization capable of maintaining peace can be promoted by several measures: education; the functioning of existing U.N. and

other international agencies; the acts of sovereign states, particularly the great powers; and international law.

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

1812
Kutakov, L. N. THE UNITED NATIONS AND DISARMAMENT. UN monthly chronicle, v. 7, May 1970: 56-61.
JX1977.A1U564, v. 7

The history of disarmament developments in the United Nations, concentrating on resolutions, treaties, and current efforts. "While it must be recognized that very difficult problems are involved in the implementation of comprehensive disarmament plans, one feels that the discussion on the vital subject of general and complete disarmament should be intensified." If all governments actively pursue this objective, it might be possible to reach an agreement on a comprehensive program and ultimately general and complete disarmament. Conference machinery has been adapted to the needs of disarmament negotiations, and a few significant agreements have been concluded, which could provide some orientation in future endeavors.

V. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND LIMITED MEASURES

NEGOTIATION

1813
Brunner, Dominique. [NUCLEAR STABILITY AND THE ARMS RACE--A FATEFUL PROBLEM] Die nukleare Stabilität und der Rüstungswettlauf--ein schicksalhaftes Problem. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 136, Mar. 1970: 136. 139-140, 143-145.
U3.A43, v. 136

The current strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) are probably the most important arms control negotiations since 1945. They are taking place at the time of the potential establishment of effective ABM systems, which could either consolidate the bipolar balance of power despite China's nuclear armaments or trigger "a great proliferation" if those systems supplement a continued Soviet-American race in offensive power. Since modern mass-destruction weapons have made any passive defense measure extremely inadequate, the stability of the balance of power depends on deterrence of an unprecedented scope. Technological progress and the development of American and Soviet military doctrines and armaments since the late fifties have transformed the American defense posture from an offensive deterrence and a relative first-strike capability to constantly changing forms of defensive deterrence and second-strike capability. The fact that the two sides are now on the verge of deploying multiple independent reentry vehicles (MIRV) could complicate their possible agreement on strategic arms limitation, since the combination of MIRV with an effective ABM system may seriously upset the strategic stability. Barring on-the-spot inspection, which is unacceptable for the Soviet Union, the verification of observance of a possible Soviet-American agreement poses another problem for SALT precisely because of MIRV which are difficult for satellite reconnaissance to distinguish from multiple reentry vehicles. This difficulty could be overcome by agreement on the maximal number of missiles or improvement of ABM systems so that they neutralize the projected MIRV's, but the best solution would be mutual renunciation of MIRV and a freeze on ABM's at a certain level. Curbing the spiralling arms race is now made mandatory also by the threat of a wild proliferation of weapons of mass destruction that are not based on nuclear fission.

1814
FINAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY ON ARMS LIMITATION--1970. Congressional record [daily ed.] 91st Congress, 2d session, v. 116, Apr. 29, 1970: H3665-H3666.
J11.R52, v. 116

Calls for a 6-month delay in deployment of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles and postponement of the second phase of the Safeguard ABM system. The report urges the President "to propose to the Soviet Union, on a reciprocal basis, an immediate two-year suspension of the deployment of strategic offensive and defensive weapons and of the tests of multiple warheads" to preserve the present favorable conditions for significant agreement at the strategic arms limitation talks.

1815
Foster, William C. NEW HOPE FOR DISARMAMENT. Rotarian, v. 116, May 1970: 26-30. illus.
HF5001.R7, v. 116

If the United States and the U.S.S.R. can arrive at a modus vivendi more reasonable than bankrupting each other in arms production, the world will be free to direct its resources toward making life more worthwhile. For this reason, "nothing going on in the world today is more important than the so-called Strategic Arms Limitation Talks." We can enter the 1970's optimistically because of the achievements of the 1960's, the development of a generally accepted body of specialized knowledge, the existence in both countries of a corps of experts, and the strong interest in peace shown by the younger generation. In addition, a weapons plateau on which both nations have the "sufficiency" required for national viability has now been attained. Most possible immediately is the limitation of large, hard to conceal, not too numerous items of the kind that require long leadtimes to design and build. It is not unreasonable to hope for a comprehensive nuclear test ban, neutralization of the seabed and ocean floor, and renunciation of chemical and biological weapons. "Achievement of these will unquestionably promote other and perhaps greater gains."

1816
Harrigan, Anthony. THE SALT TALKS: ROUND TWO. National review, v. 22, Apr. 7, 1970: 360.
AP2.N3545, v. 22

Congressman Donald M. Fraser's urging for a "quick action in Vienna to head off the development of MIRVs (multiple independent reentry vehicles) and ABM systems" and Senator Mike Gravel's call for an "in-place halt" of weapons development to preserve strategic parity indicate that influential elements in the United States are ignoring cold war realities with respect to the strategic arms limitation talks. The Soviet Union now enjoys a lead in nuclear weapons and an in-place halt would only confirm its position. Although U.S. negotiators in Vienna will not bow to these pressures, they might rely on electronic means of verifying an agreement. Soviet development of the

secret Cosmos 248 "interceptor-inspector-destroyer" satellite demonstrates the unreliability of electronic devices and the necessity for onsite inspection to detect Soviet tests. "An agreement without this provision would be a worthless scrap of paper."

1817
Hirschfeld, Oswald. [NEW PROSPECTS FOR THE 1970'S] Neue Optik für die 70er Jahre. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 14, Jan. 1970: 10-11.
U3.W38, v. 14

The threshold of the 1970's is historically remarkable for the inauguration of the strategic arms limitation talks. At the moment, outside observers are inclined to believe that the negotiations are proceeding one small step at a time and that the limitation of each individual weapons system will be discussed separately. If the ABM has been characterized as a strategic weapon, as outsiders guess, the Russians have made a concession demonstrating their readiness for arms limitations. Rumors of an agreement to accept radar and satellite inspection as sufficient for verification and control may be true in view of the near perfection attained by these technical methods. The current Bonn-Moscow talks on the renunciation of the use of force is another aspect of East-West conflict. By entering into these talks, Moscow has in effect renounced the enemy-state clauses of the United Nations charter. Willy Brandt has on previous occasions voiced his conviction that reconciliation with the East, although necessary, must be conducted with the backing of Bonn's allies if it is not to become capitulation. Other officials of the present administration have united behind Brandt in asking for simultaneous troop reductions in West and East. However, Brandt's eastern policy confronts the impediments of the Brezhnev doctrine and the tacit but real division of spheres of interest entered into by the superpowers.

1818
Hosmer, Craig. THE SALT TALKS. Congressional record [daily ed.] 91st Congress, 2d session, v. 116, May 18, 1970: H4478-H4479.
J11.R52, v. 116

Analysis and guide for evaluating the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) proposals when and if they are published by the superpowers. Representative Hosmer asserts that to write a treaty the supowers must recognize mutual deterrence as the preferred long-term status for their relations. He discusses the complications for the superpowers in writing a treaty and the need to anticipate the dangers posed by third powers like Communist China, lists the most frequently mentioned approaches--a quantity or quality limitation, a combination of the two, or "a ban on deployment of additional strategic systems coupled with a phased reduction in the allowable number of systems during a specific time period"--and critically appraises each. A hypothetical case is presented in which the United States, under a limitation, switches from a vulnerable land-based missile and bomber system to an undersea launched missile system.

1819
Pribićević, Novak. SECOND ROUND OF TALKS ON STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS. Review of international affairs, v. 21, May 5, 1970: 10-11.
D839.R4, v. 21

Those questions in the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) on which there is no agreement obviously outnumber those on which views can easily be coordinated. However, the parties agree on the necessity for these talks in view of the exorbitant costs and risks of the arms race. The American substitution of "sufficiency" for "superiority" indicates that the U.S. lead in ABM's, while real, is not preemptive. In Russia's successful effort to close the missile gap the Soviet economy has undergone tremendous strains. The two powers may be able to find a common language even in the highly disputed area of on-the-spot control and verification. In the long run the final outcome of these talks will depend on the two parties' multifaceted political relationships. Vietnam, the Middle East, and the Czech intervention will inhibit any relaxation of the international atmosphere. The nonalined countries fear that the exclusion of all other countries from these talks might create a dangerous monopoly in which the superpowers alone make decisions on matters of universal concern.

1820
PROSPECTS FOR SALT. Nature (London) v. 225, Mar. 28, 1970: 1178-1179.
Q1.N2, v. 225

Secretary Laird's announcement that the United States intends to go ahead with plans to deploy multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRV's) and his request to Congress for funds to expand the ABM system are indicative of a disturbingly bellicose trend in U.S. public pronouncements on military policy. The Soviet Union, which has been conducting underground weapons tests with the same abandon as the United States and making public boasts about the effectiveness of its own ABM system, is equally at fault. The United States justifies its decisions with the contention that Soviet technological innovations are threatening U.S. strategic supremacy. That the world stands on the verge of a new and seriously destabilizing technological revolution cannot be doubted, but that the Soviet Union is about to gain a decisive strategic advantage over the United States can and will be. For the next several years, at least, "the United States is in a strong position to anticipate and outwit any strategic innovations of which the Soviet Union may be capable." Everything considered, one would do well to assume that the opportunity to stop MIRV and ABM has been lost. On the other hand, advances in the quality of intelligence suggest the feasibility of a numerical limitation on offensive missiles. Also, thanks to great improvements in remote detection methods, the outlook for a comprehensive

test ban treaty is better than ever. Such a treaty offers the best method of controlling nuclear weapons technology. In recent weeks, the United States has signed the nonproliferation treaty and expressed willingness to extend its renunciation of biological weapons to include biologically derived toxins. Perhaps "recent bellicosity about strategic weapons is only a preliminary to hard bargaining at Vienna."

1821
Schwarz, Urs. [BEFORE NEW ARMS LIMITATION TALKS] Vor neuen Verhandlungen über Rüstungschränkungen. Schweizer Monatshefte, v. 50, Apr. 1970: 22-29.
AP32.S47, v. 50

Since only the superpowers are engaged in the nuclear arms race, its cessation depends solely upon them, even though the nonproliferation treaty commits all other parties to negotiate for an arms race halt, nuclear disarmament, and a general and complete disarmament treaty. Under current political realities, a comprehensive treaty is unlikely. Although the U.N. Committee on Disarmament is charged with preparing a resolution on the reduction of nuclear arsenals, it can now meaningfully deal only with the flow of conventional arms to underdeveloped countries. Recent technological breakthroughs have caused qualitative changes in defensive and offensive weapons that bode continued upsets of the Soviet-American nuclear balance of power. Despite their shortcomings, antiballistic missile (ABM) systems have already upset the balance by their potential use in offense. But a more direct effect has resulted from multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRV). Unlike other missiles, they defy detection from satellites. They thus add to the uncertainty that might cause war. The real danger of a holocaust rests not on proliferation but on the development of increasingly sophisticated weapons by the superpowers. The Soviet-American strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) promise to drag on because of the complex problems involved, but early agreement could be reached on a mutual renunciation of MIRV tests. The possibility that France and Great Britain will develop strategic nuclear weapons makes the superpowers hesitate at sacrificing their technological lead. China's nuclear armaments, the most disturbing factor, may soon threaten the security of the countries protected by Russia and America.

1822
Skrinjar, Branko. ERFURT MEETING AND EUROPEAN TRENDS. Review of international affairs, v. 21, Apr. 5, 1970: 10-12.
D839.R4, v. 21

The awareness that direct inter-German contacts are necessary and inevitable is obviously beginning to prevail. The German states have been playing the role of advanced scouts on forward patrol for the antagonistic blocs too long. Revival of four-way talks on Berlin seems to hint that the four powers are ready to use the allied Control Council to launch new talks on German problems. If the Erfurt parley between Brandt and Stopf has launched a realistic policy of small steps, it has forwarded the interests of all Europe.

1823
Smith, Gerard C. UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION BEGIN SECOND PHASE OF STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 62, May 4, 1970: 572-573.
JX232.A33, v. 62

Statement "made before the opening session of the second phase of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. strategic arms limitation talks at Vienna on Apr. 16," 1970.

Words of appreciation to the host state, Austria; greetings to the Soviet delegation; and a message from the President, who expresses his commitment to "an early, equitable, verifiable agreement" based on "proper recognition of the legitimate security interests of the United States and the Soviet Union and of third countries."

1824
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. Subcommittee on Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS. Hearings, Ninety-first Congress, second session. Testimony of Cyril E. Black [and] Richard Pipes. March 18, 1970. pt. 1. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 50 p. KF26.A784 1970

Contents.--Opening statement, Senator Henry M. Jackson.--Testimony of Dr. Cyril E. Black and Dr. Richard Pipes.

Historical review of the process of industrialization in the Soviet Union and the evolution of Soviet elite attitudes. In response to questions, Black stresses the importance of external factors--e.g., deployment of the ABM or MIRV by the United States--in the formation of Soviet foreign policy and expresses a preference for negotiating with the Soviet Union on the basis of parity; Pipes emphasizes the role of internal factors--notably the Soviet elite's obsession with power--in the formation of foreign policy and prefers negotiation on the basis of strength.

1825
WHAT'S AT STAKE AS U.S. AND RUSSIA MEET ON ARMS. U.S. news & world report, v. 68, Apr. 20, 1970: 61-62. JK1.U65, v. 68

The major aims of the strategic arms limitation talks between the United States and the Soviet Union are to neutralize the destabilizing potential of new weapons technology and control the costs of the arms race. The United States will push for both quantitative and qualitative limitations on strategic weapons, a ban on the emplacement of nuclear arms on the seabed, and an end to production and stockpiling of biological agents. The Soviet Union will want to consider in addition the creation of nuclear free zones in various parts of the world, the restriction within national boundaries of bomber flights with nuclear weapons, and the confinement of missile-firing submarines to home

waters. At Helsinki the two powers exchanged intelligence information and reached an accord on basic principles; viz, that agreement must be grounded on mutual nuclear deterrence, that any attempt to achieve a first-strike capability would be dangerous and contrary to the spirit of the talks, and that both powers are obligated to maintain a second-strike capability. That neither side has permitted tensions in the Middle East and Southeast Asia to disrupt plans for the talks indicates that both take them very seriously. Nevertheless, it is clear that, in trying to solve the complex problems of the arms race, seriousness of intent and understanding on the level of principles are not enough, and the odds against success are considered to be overwhelming.

1826
Wyle, Frederick S. IS EUROPE'S SECURITY NEGOTIABLE? Round table, the Commonwealth quarterly, no. 238, Apr. 1970: 183-189.
AP4.R6, 1970

No significant reduction in conventional forces and no renunciation of the strategic missile can possibly be attained by a "European security settlement." The fundamental power fact is the superpower determination to preserve the present balance, come what may. Marginal political achievements like a modus vivendi for the two Germanys are certainly possible, but there will be no extension of the political freedom that might endanger Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. Similarly, reductions or changes of composition in the overall levels of the confronting military forces are possible, but both sides will retain an "assured destruction capability" regardless of technological developments, budgetary pressures, or arms limitation talks. The European allies of the United States are the beneficiaries of this balance of terror. The small independent nuclear forces, French or British, are simply not credible. If a U.S. force reduction were to upset the conventional force balance, the Europeans would have to seek compensatory measures. "Unbelievable and unbelieved nuclear threats cannot take up any existing slack." But to suggest that an American force reduction in peacetime can be offset with increased peacetime political reliance on the threat of nuclear weapons is not realistic. "Nuclear weapons do not balance ground forces--only ground forces do that."

REDUCTION OF THE RISK OF WAR

Escalation

1827
Boramy, Léon, and Malcolm Caldwell. CAMBODIA. Peace press, v. 6, Mar./Apr. 1970: 1-28.
Ser

Contents.--Brief historical context.--The colonial period and local resistance to the French.--The Japanese period and growing nationalist resistance between 1945 and 1954.--The Geneva Conference and the implications of the 1954 settlement for Cambodia and the Cambodian Left.--The Sihanouk period, 1954/70.--Immediate domestic developments leading to the coup.--International context and implications.--Present situation, post coup developments and prospects.

Background to the Cambodian coup d'etat of 1970 and speculation about its consequences. The coup was the culmination of a long series of developments that goes back to 1966 and involves both foreign and domestic elements. Its most significant consequence has been the reemergence of Communist China in world politics and the affairs of Southeast Asia, which "is now a very firm fact, and dramatically changes all parameters of the situation." Faced with military defeat in Indo-China and with political defeat at home, the Nixon administration is edging toward "a very much more dramatic escalation than any hitherto seriously contemplated, inevitably involving China."

1828
Cranston, Alan. LAOS: NEXT STEP IN THE BIG MUDDY. Nation, v. 210, Mar. 30, 1970: 363-366.
AP2.N2, v. 210

Asserts that U.S. involvement in Laos is being escalated and that Vietnamization, in practice, means the creation of "an army of South Vietnamese mercenaries to continue a conflict that is neither in our national interests nor in those of the Vietnamese people."

1829
Nixon, Richard M., Pres. U.S. CAMBODIA: A DIFFICULT DECISION. Vital speeches of the day, v. 36, May 15, 1970: 450-452.
PN6121.V52, v. 36
Delivered over national television, Apr. 31, 1970.

Announces and justifies the U.S.-South Vietnamese attacks on "major enemy sanctuaries on the Cambodian-Vietnam border." President Nixon reaffirms his determination to withdraw U.S. combat forces from Vietnam and secure a just peace but warns that the United States will take whatever steps are necessary to prevent humiliation by an intransigent enemy, no matter what the political costs may be.

Conventional arms transfers

1830
Erven, L. FRANCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. Review of international affairs, v. 21, Mar. 5, 1970: 10-13.
D839.R4, v. 21

The sale of planes to Libya is a spectacular manifestation of France's determination to recapture her place among those world powers that make policy and control armaments. Because Libya is not simply another Arab republic but a new factor of great significance in the Arab world, the implications go far beyond the purely commercial.

In the western Mediterranean, France continues to follow the course of understanding and cooperation initiated with the liquidation of the Algerian war. The French moves indicate that France has grasped the unity of the Arab problem, "the connection between the events in the Middle East and happenings throughout the Arab world and in the Mediterranean basin." France's position as a Mediterranean country is bringing it nearer to the position of the nonalined Mediterranean countries and their demand for security.

1831
Gibert, Stephen P. SOVIET-AMERICAN MILITARY AID COMPETITION IN THE THIRD WORLD. Orbis, v. 13, winter 1970: 1117-1137. illus.
D839.068, v. 13

Depicts with the help of tables the similarities and differences between the Soviet and American military aid programs in the Third World. The Middle East has been the most important area for both countries and Africa the least. While Soviet military aid efforts are concentrated in specific regions, U.S. aid is more widely dispersed. Gibert concludes that the Soviet Union has expanded its aid programs, whereas the United States has entered a period of retrenchment, which "has given the Soviet government more leeway for maneuver," and that after 12 years of military aid rivalry, neither superpower is winning the struggle for influence.

1832
[SWITZERLAND: PRODUCTION AND EXPORT OF ARMS]
Schweiz: Rüstungsproduktion und Waffenausfuhr. Wehrkunde, v. 19, Feb. 1970: 104-105.
U3.W396, v. 19

Examines a report by a Swiss commission of experts on the export of war materiel from Switzerland, which points out considerations that may also be valid for other countries. In wartime, international law prohibits a neutral state from directly providing the warring parties with war materiel, but does not oblige it to halt private export of arms from its territory. "In peacetime, the only guiding principle is the credibility of a policy of neutrality," which does not allow a neutral state either to supply war materiel or to ban its export to only one party in a potential conflict in a tension area. The commission holds it would be dangerous to Swiss security and independence to renounce its defense industry, since in time of tension its arms suppliers could cut off Swiss supplies as they did to Israel. Private production of arms in Switzerland should continue, according to the commission, because it helps the nation's defense industry economically and technologically.

Nuclear proliferation

1833
Bellany, Ian. AUSTRALIA'S NUCLEAR POLICY. India quarterly, v. 25, Oct./Dec. 1969: 374-384.
D410.I44, v. 25

Although initially indifferent toward nuclear affairs, Australia recently has taken an interest in the nonproliferation treaty and in commercial nuclear power and now appears ready to purchase its first reactor. Australia supports the concept of nuclear nonproliferation but has demonstrated unmistakable hostility toward the treaty. Although the government claims the treaty will impede the development of peaceful nuclear energy in Australia, actually it is more concerned about maintaining its option to manufacture nuclear weapons. Sir Philip Baxter, Chairman of the Australian Atomic Energy Commission and a key figure in nuclear policy making, strongly alluded to this possibility when he said Australia should "equip itself with the 'most sophisticated and effective weapons man can devise.'" Eventually, Australia's nuclear reactors will rely on indigenous fuel supplies, but the first reactors must be bought abroad and rely on foreign-supplied fuels. Even if Australia does not sign the nonproliferation treaty, it will have to import its nuclear technology from the more advanced nuclear powers that have sponsored the treaty, and they are likely to restrict assistance to peaceful equipment or withhold it altogether. To stockpile plutonium for weapons, Australia will have to produce its own reactors and fuel. This costly, nationalistic policy suggests that Australia may not sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, although it will become increasingly difficult for Australia to hold out if West Germany and Japan sign. "By signing the treaty Australia . . . will greatly ease its own transition into the nuclear age and if it is felt necessary to withdraw from the treaty at some future time, the experience and equipment necessary for the construction of nuclear weapons will, for Australia, have been more easily and rapidly assembled within the treaty than outside."

1834
Duncan, Francis. ATOMIC ENERGY AND ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1946-1954. Orbis, v. 12, winter 1969: 1188-1203.
D839.068, v. 12

Summary of "the principal developments in international atomic affairs in the years 1946-1954." Duncan focuses on U.S.-British and U.S.-Canadian relations regarding the transfer of information on atomic technology and weapons. He argues that Section 10 of the U.S. Atomic Energy Act of 1946, which was drafted by legislators unaware of secret wartime agreements with Britain and Canada, led to unnecessary disputes between the United States and its allies. The principal defect in this legislation was the prohibition against disseminating industrial information on atomic energy pending the establishment of effective controls on information relating to atomic weapons, a process that required lengthy negotiations that benefited the Soviet Union.

1835
IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL STATES AND ALL PEOPLES: NONPROLIFERATION TREATY ENTERS INTO FORCE. Reprints from the Soviet press, v. 10, Apr. 3, 1970: 3-6.
DK266.A2R37, v. 10
From all Soviet papers of Mar. 6, 1970.

Statement of Aleksei N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., on the occasion of the deposition of the instruments of ratification of the nonproliferation treaty.

1836
Kaplan, Morton A. WEAKNESSES OF THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY. Orbis, v. 12, winter 1969: 1042-1057. D839.068, v. 12

Three conditions are requisite for the success of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty: a universal nuclear test ban, a superpower condominium, and a U.S. and/or Soviet guarantee to defend the victims of aggression. These requirements cannot be fulfilled. A universal test ban that seeks to legitimate an attack on China's nuclear facilities ignores the dangerous repercussions of such an attack. The belief that a Soviet-American condominium could last for 25 years disregards "the complexities, ambiguities, absurdities and novelties that help to make up the historical process." For most situations a superpower guarantee is a sufficient deterrent, but in the absence of a blank check a conditional and vague guarantee of the sort being offered by Washington and Moscow not only constitutes a source of pressure against the weaker states but is deceitful and forces countries to become international wards. With respect to West Germany, the treaty could produce a nationalistic reaction that in turn "could inspire a movement leading to the development of a German nuclear force under the direction of a radical regime." In effect, "the negotiations for the conclusion of a nuclear nondiffusion treaty constitute one of the great disasters of contemporary statesmanship."

1837
ON THE SIGNING OF THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. Japan Socialist review, no. 197, Feb. 15, 1970: 8-10. HX9.J3, 1970

Examines critically the provisions of the nonproliferation treaty and Japan's policies on nuclear weapons and disarmament, concluding that it should renounce nuclear weapons and propose a total prohibition on nuclear arms. The Diet must adequately debate the treaty, and the Government must clarify its position on nuclear disarmament. The Socialist Party will adopt its policy on the treaty after determining Japan's security requirements and assessing the popular demand for nuclear disarmament.

1838
Pešić, Milorad. YUGOSLAVIA AND NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION. Review of international affairs, v. 21, Mar. 5, 1970: 6-8.
D839.R4, 1970

Reviews the reasons for Yugoslavia's "positive attitude" toward the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. Pešić believes that the treaty "represents a moral obligation assumed by the nuclear powers to respect the growing pressure of world public opinion for them to stop the nuclear arms race and start denuclearization." The treaty also encourages the freer circulation and transfer of the technical know-how required for the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy.

1839
Petri, Alexander. GERMANY'S PART IN THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY. Aussenpolitik; German foreign affairs review, v. 21, no. 1, 1970: 14-24.
Ser
Translation of an article in the April 1970 issue of Aussenpolitik.
D839.A885, v. 21

The treaty providing for the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons has been up for signing as a universal agreement since July 1, 1968. The Federal Republic of Germany is not a member of the United Nations and thus does not belong to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva, charged with working out details of the agreement. But since the pivotal question dealt with by the treaty is of special concern to her, the Federal Republic launched an active nonproliferation policy at the beginning of 1967. The author analyzes the wishes, the encouragement, and the impulses emanating from the Federal Republic of Germany during the period in which the Treaty was being drafted and also the instances where they are reflected in important sections in the definitive version of the text. German initiatives were capable of being all the more effective for the reason that the Federal Republic in many instances found itself sharing exactly the same points of interest as other non-nuclear states, and parallelisms of this nature will also be a factor in working out the system for controls still to be decided. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1840
Robinson, Davis R. THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO AND THE UNITED STATES: A LATIN AMERICAN NUCLEAR FREE ZONE. American journal of international law, v. 64, Apr. 1970: 282-309.
JX1.A6, v. 64

Gives the legal history of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America ("The Treaty of Tlatelolco") and commentary on the treaty and its protocols and on the U.S. statement upon signature of Protocol II. The British, Soviet, Communist Chinese, French, Brazilian, Argentinian, and Cuban positions on the treaty are also outlined. The treaty bans the production, testing, and any form of possession of nuclear weapons in the territories of the Latin American signatories and provides for compliance verification more comprehensively and in greater detail than the nuclear nonproliferation treaty (NPT), signed over a year later. The ban does not extend to transit of such weapons through a treaty territory. The protocols are addressed to extrazonal states, nonparties to the treaty: Protocol I commits contracting parties to the protocol to observe the treaty with respect to their territories within the zone, and Protocol II obligates nuclear-nation signatories to respect the denuclearization of Latin America as established by the treaty. The United States has not signed Protocol

I because of conflicting claims in regard to sovereignty over some U.S. possessions in the zone, unlawful and excessive territorial-sea claims by some parties to the treaty, which might affect the zone of application, and American unwillingness to be committed to a nuclear-free Puerto Rico or Virgin Islands prior to any comprehensive disarmament agreement with the other nuclear powers. The U.S. statement is interpretive in nature and does not constitute a reservation to the treaty. It disclaims American acceptance of controversial boundary claims, notes that freedom of transit of nuclear weapons within the Western Hemisphere is unaffected by the treaty and is vital for American security, and states that the U.S. obligation under Protocol II not to use nuclear weapons against the parties to the treaty would not apply when a party in treaty violation makes an armed attack with the assistance of a nuclear-weapon state. "If the United States ratifies Protocol II, it will be the first time that it has undertaken an obligation of 'non-use' of nuclear weapons." The U.S. statement also reiterates the American position that nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes come within the treaty's definition of nuclear weapons. Washington's intention is to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons capabilities and bring pertinent provisions of the Latin American treaty into line with the NPT. U.S. ratification of Protocol II would contribute to worldwide control of the nuclear arms race.

1841
Vöst, Peter. [WHEN THE INSPECTOR COMES . . .] Wenn der Revisor kommt . . . Europäische Begegnung, v. 10, Jan. 1970: 6-9.
AP30.E78, v. 10

Criticizes Chancellor Brandt's government for signing the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, which would expose West Germany to an increased threat of Soviet intervention. By signing the treaty Bonn has accepted the U.N. Charter and its enemy-state clauses. The German Federal Republic, however, reserved the right to withdraw from the treaty whenever its vital interests so required and declared that its ratification of the treaty would depend on a satisfactory agreement between the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on control and inspection. Since the Euratom safeguards system is irreconcilable with that of the IAEA, such an agreement would adversely affect Euratom. The IAEA system focuses on on-the-spot inspection of nuclear facilities "everywhere and anytime"; Euratom's is based on surveillance of nuclear fuels within the boundaries of the controlled state. It would be impossible for Euratom to adopt the more extensive IAEA system against French opposition. Although the treaty prevents horizontal proliferation and reduces the danger of nuclear war, it strengthens the inequality between the states and does not curb the superpower nuclear arms race. By joining the treaty the Euratom states practically waive their right to create a European federation and become a multilateral nuclear power.

1842
Wettig, Gerhard. SOVIET POLICY ON THE NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, 1966-1968. Orbis, v. 12, winter 1969: 1058-1084.
D839.068, v. 12

Analyzes Soviet statements on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in terms of the times of issuance and intended audiences to determine actual Soviet policy. Wettig finds that the Soviet Union has resorted to deliberate ambiguity on key issues, for instance, the meaning of indirect control of nuclear weapons, the civilian uses of nuclear technology, and the terms of compliance and safeguards, and has altered its position on various features of the proposed nonproliferation treaty. He concludes that Russia's preoccupation with the alleged West German nuclear threat is in fact a smokescreen for Soviet efforts to weaken NATO by generating tensions between West Germany and its allies.

1843
Yuter, S. C. PREVENTING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION THROUGH THE LEGAL CONTROL OF CHINA'S BOMB. Orbis, v. 12, winter 1969: 1018-1041.
D839.068, v. 12

Contends that the alternative to a universally binding ban on the proliferation of nuclear weapons is the escalation of the arms race. Yuter poses various scenarios in which Communist China or West Germany acquires a nuclear missile capability, thereby provoking India, Japan, and other nations to do the same and increasing the chances of nuclear war. He argues that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States can afford to rely solely on an ABM system in the face of the growing Chinese threat and proposes a universal, comprehensive nuclear test ban to be imposed by force, if necessary, on China, France, and other developing or potential nuclear powers.

1844
Zavialov, L. A TREATY MEETING THE INTERESTS OF PEACE. International affairs (Moscow) no. 6, June 1970: 70-71. D839.I465, 1970

Comments on the entry into force of the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Zavialov emphasizes the continued need for vigilance in regard to the revanchist ambitions of West Germany. However, the treaty itself is fresh evidence that the obstacles to disarmament can be overcome when states act together. The outcome of the Vienna talks "will, of course, depend on the good will of both sides."

Other (accidental war, command and control of weapons, etc.)

1845
Petrov, M. AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF DISARMAMENT (ON BANNING CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS). International affairs (Moscow) no. 2/3, Mar. 1970: 53-56. D839.I465, 1970

Repeats the Soviet argument at the 1969 summer session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament for the simultaneous condemnation of biological and chemical weapons as opposed to the British draft banning biological weapons alone.

REGIONAL

Tension areas

1846
Aleksandrov, I. THE ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN OF PEKING PROPAGANDISTS. Reprints from the Soviet press, v. 10, May 29, 1970: 15-23.
DK266.A2R37, v. 10
Translated from Pravda, March 18, 1970.
Slav Rm

Neither the slanderous stories concocted in the West about the "inevitability" of a Soviet military attack on China nor the American assumption of the role of protector of the Chinese people is new. What is worthy of note is the fact that the anti-Soviet inventions of the West find such fruitful soil in Peking, where all propaganda means are being used to alert every Chinese to begin preparing for war, "as from today." This campaign of militaristic anti-Sovietism was timed to coincide with the beginning of the Soviet-Chinese talks on frontier issues. A genuine national revival of China and her successful Socialist development can be ensured only on the basis of friendship with the U.S.S.R. and the countries of the Socialist community.

1847
Ball, George W. SUEZ IS THE FRONT TO WATCH. New York times magazine, June 28, 1970: 10-11, 58, 62-65.
AP2.N6575, 1970

In light of the Soviet Union's growing boldness in the Middle East and America's preoccupations in Vietnam, the conventional view, that the Russians intend to keep the Middle East agitated but avoid a new military outbreak or a direct confrontation with the United States, seems terribly outdated. A more realistic assessment shows that the Soviets may already have tipped the local balance of forces in their favor and are now rapidly approaching a situation in which they will be strongly tempted to seize the Suez Canal or trigger a new Arab offensive against Israel, which may no longer be able to stand alone. Since the success of either enterprise would spell disaster for the West, the United States would feel compelled to intervene on the side of Israel against the Soviet Union, thus presenting statesmen with a Middle East version of the Cuban missile crisis. But this time, or so it is said in Eastern Europe, it will be the United States that backs down. Before events have gone this far, the United States must take decisive steps to force the withdrawal or sharp reduction of Soviet forces and to begin the process of political stabilization. Stabilization will require acknowledging that Israel and the United Arab Republic are quite incapable of resolving the dispute on their own. An outside agent--a great power consortium--must assume the responsibility. A threat of direct U.S. military involvement will be necessary to force the withdrawal of Soviet units. American determination on this matter could be demonstrated by increasing the number of Polaris submarines deployed with the Sixth Fleet and by intimating publicly that the United States will not reduce its troop strength in Europe as long as Soviet pilots are flying combat missions in the Middle East. U.S. initiatives must have the support of the American people and the European allies; throughout, clear thinking, straight talking, and restraints on the violence in Southeast Asia, a less vital area, will be required. This, a "clear, unequivocal policy of strength," is the best course open to the United States today. If action is taken now, it has a very good chance of success.

1848
Bindra, Atam P. S. SUEZ THROMBOSIS: CAUSES AND PROSPECTS. [Delhi] Vikas Publications [1969] xx, 159 p. illus., fold. col. maps, ports.
DS119.7.B52
Bibliography: p. [139]-144.

Assesses the Suez Canal problem in terms of the Arab-Israeli dispute, intra-Arab feuds, and hostility and rivalry among France, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The author concludes that although recent developments point toward a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute, the United Nations must "create the conditions and offer a New Deal to the aggrieved." If the United Nations fails in this task hostilities will gradually escalate to coordinated Arab attacks countered by Israeli nuclear-missile strikes.

1849
Cattan, Henry. PALESTINE, THE ARABS AND ISRAEL; THE SEARCH FOR JUSTICE. [London] Longmans [1969] 281 p. maps.
DS119.7.C38
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--Abbreviations.--pt. 1. Origin of the Arab-Israeli conflict: Historical background. The emergence of Israel and the Palestine War (1948). The exodus of the Palestine refugees.--pt. 2. Two decades of tension (1948-1967): Failure of mediation and conciliation. Border incidents, truce violations and a large-scale war in 1956. Israel's refusal to repatriate the refugees. Assistance to the refugees. Fate of Arab refugee property.--pt. 3. The Israeli-Arab War (1967): The causes of the war. Another refugee tragedy. The aftermath of the conflict.--pt. 4. In search of a solution: The essence of the conflict. Misconceptions about the proper solution. Israel's obligations under United Nations resolutions and international law. The possibilities and conditions of a settlement. Conclusion.--Appendices.--Index.

History of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Cattan considers the basic cause of the conflict to be

the Zionist determination to establish a Jewish state in Palestine through the forcible expulsion and dispossession of the native Arab population. He attempts to correct what he regards as serious misconceptions and distortions of fact successfully propagated by Israel and its sympathizers. He charges Israel with provoking a series of wars with the Arabs to expand its territories, thereby making homeless large numbers of Arabs whom it refuses to repatriate or compensate. He concludes that the U.N. Security Council resolution of November 1967 cannot secure a lasting peace because it fails to remedy the basic injustices committed against the Arabs.

1850
Churba, Joseph. FEDAYEEN AND THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS. [Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.] Documentary Research Division, Aerospace Studies Institute, Air University, 1969. 64 p. maps. (Air University documentary research study AU-206-68-ASI)
DS119.7.C49

Contents.--Abstract.--Foreword.--The problem in perspective.--The historical context.--Post-war Fedayeen rivalry.--The Israel response.--A tentative assessment.--References.

The emergence of a growing and relatively independent Fedayeen movement, immune to external diplomatic pressure and dedicated to the doctrine of armed struggle, constitutes a new dimension to the Arab-Israel controversy. Its nature, character and tactics are best understood in the historical perspective as a recurrent manifestation of the wider conflict between Arab nationalism and political Zionism, as well as the reflection of traditional Arab rivalry for allegiance of the Palestinian Arabs as a factor in the balance of power in the Arab East. The distinguishing feature of the current phase is the altered power relationship between Arab governments and the several interwoven, competing and collaborating Fedayeen groups who increasingly set the pace and tone of general Arab-Israel relations. Its corollary is the expanded nature of the Israeli response and the growing intransigence on both sides of the cease-fire lines militating against a political settlement. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1851
Churba, Joseph. SOVIET PENETRATION INTO THE MIDDLE EAST. [Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.] Documentary Research Division, Aerospace Studies Institute, 1968. 113 p. illus., maps. (Air University. Documentary research study, AU-203-68-ASI)
DS63.2.R9C5
Bibliography: p. 110-113.

Contents.--Abstract.--Foreword.--Introduction.--pt. 1. The background: Anglo-Russian rivalry in the Ottoman Empire and the Perso-Arabian sphere. Bolshevik accommodation with Kemalist Turkey and Persia. Turkey and Iran and the Second World War. The post-war Soviet thrust.--pt. 2. The contemporary scene: The Soviet breakthrough in the Arab East. Rapprochement: Turkey and Iran. The Six-Day War in perspective.--pt. 3. Evaluation.

Contemporary Soviet policy in the Middle East is characterized by the simultaneous pursuit of two contradictory policies. A consistent and accommodative pattern has emerged in relations with the non-Arab countries of Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan, while a revolutionary policy characterizes relations with the Arab states. The key to understanding Soviet diplomacy in the Middle East is to be found not in the traditional and negative terms of reaction to the Western policy of containment or even in the desire to realize Tsarist aims, but rather in the expansion of Soviet diplomatic options in the Afro-Asian world. To expand diplomatic options on the global scene and to preempt and contain its principal rivals in Asia and Africa--the United States and China--the Soviet Union must assure itself a strategic relationship with India and gain an accepted presence in Southwest Asia. Achieving this end depends both upon ensuring passage across the Middle Eastern landbridge and developing seapower and amphibious capability along its perimeter. Given the British decision to withdraw from "East of Suez" and the uncertainties of continual American involvement on the Asian mainland, the Soviet Union strives for expanding seapower and accordingly strives for cordial relations and positions of strength in the littoral states of the Mediterranean, Arabian and Red Seas, and the Persian Gulf. In this struggle, Soviet Middle Eastern policy has come to focus preeminently on relations with the Arab States. The Soviets aid themselves in this effort by sympathizing with and exploiting the Arabs' consistent hostility toward Israel. They also offer themselves as an alternative to the West as economic underwriter. They enjoy freedom from the stigma of imperialism in the Arab world, yet can offer vast economic and military aid programs. Other factors, however, impose limits upon the Soviet thrust down the Turkish Straits into the Mediterranean. These include the countervailing forces of nationalism and revolution, intraregional conflicts, and the inability to fully underwrite the economic needs of client states. Thus, the dramatic escalation of Soviet naval power in the Mediterranean is neither coincidental nor transitory but a coordinated and integral part of strengthened relations with the Arab states. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1852
COLLUSION BETWEEN THE PEIPING REGIME AND ALBANIA [by] Y. C. Y. Issues and studies, v. 6, Jan. 1970: 1-4. Ser

Reviews the Soviet Union's recent efforts to normalize relations with Albania. The author postulates an increased Soviet threat to the Balkan Peninsula and describes Chinese countermeasures, including alleged military agreements with Albania and attempts to establish better relations with Rumania and Yugoslavia. The Soviet Union's willingness to reestablish diplomatic relations with Albania is obviously intended "to intensify their psychological warfare against Peiping." Albania is China's only foothold in Eastern Europe, and if Peking intends to subvert Russian influence and pressures in Eastern Europe, it cannot afford to

relinquish its control over Albania. The recent extension of a relatively large Chinese loan suggests that Albania will not reject Peking in favor of improved relations with Moscow.

1853
Cottrell, Alvin J. THE UNITED STATES AND THE FUTURE OF THE GULF AFTER THE BAHRAIN AGREEMENT. New Middle East, no. 22, July 1970: 18-21. illus.
DS63.1.N48, 1970

Assesses the prospects for stability in the Persian Gulf area in light of the Bahrain agreement and Britain's anticipated withdrawal from the gulf. Cottrell questions whether the proposed Federation of Emirates will prove viable once Britain withdraws. He argues that withdrawal of the present small U.S. Naval Force could have far-reaching political consequences unless the United States retains the capability of "showing the flag" occasionally as a reminder of its interest in the area's stability.

1854
Herstig, David. [FETUA, THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. CAUSES AND EFFECTS] Fetua, der arabisch-israelische Konflikt. Ursachen u. Auswirkungen. München, Olzog [1969] 218 p. maps.
DS119.7.H395
Bibliography: p. 218.

Contents.--The cutbacks of the 6-day war.--The Sinai campaign.--The Liberation War, 1948.--The Jews and Israel.--Great Britain and Palestine.--The Balfour Declaration.--Fetua: conflict as a religious obligation.--The mandate and the British.--Methods of the investigation commissions.--The Arabs and the German Reich.--The 6-day war in the view of King Hussein.--Postwar problems.--Recapitulation.--Appendix.--Chronological table.--Bibliography.

Traces the history of Arab-Israeli relations since the late 19th century and points to the lessons of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Powers like the United States and the Soviet Union, who supply arms to the Arabs, have proved unable to curb Arab belligerence against Israel. The war caused a "geostrategic revolution" in the Near East and vastly improved Israel's security. Through its enlightened policy toward the Arabs in Israel and in the occupied territories, the Israeli Government hopes to create a climate for better understanding and peaceful cooperation between the Jews and Arabs.

1855
Hetherington, Alastair. CAN PEACE BE NEGOTIATED? Current, no. 116, Mar. 1970: 55-64. map.
AP2.C9259, 1970
"From 'Peaceful Settlement Is Possible' . . . The Manchester Guardian Weekly, Jan. 17, 1970."

Speculates on the prospects for peace in the Middle East. Hetherington recommends that U.N. Resolution 242 of Nov. 22, 1967, be made the starting point of efforts to achieve peace and offers some proposals for dealing with the three-tiered problem of determining a "procedure for agreeing on how to apply Resolution 242," working out detailed terms, and establishing an atmosphere of mutual trust and security.

1856
Huang, Yung-sheng. SPEECH BY CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF HUANG YUNG-SHENG. Peking review, v. 13, July 3, 1970: 54-55. DS701.P42, v. 13
Delivered in Pyongyang on June 27, 1970.

Since the "two Chinas" scheme is bankrupt, the Americans, in collusion with the Japanese, are trying to detach Taiwan from China. Japan, which has never abandoned its "wild design of annexing Taiwan," has declared that the island is vital to its own security, and it intends to obstruct liberation. In return for Japanese military support in Asia, the United States has tacitly allowed the Japanese to view South Korea, Taiwan, and Indochina as falling within their sphere of influence. China has complete sovereignty over Taiwan, and plots to detach it will never succeed. U.S. occupation of Taiwan is the crucial issue in Sino-American relations. During the U.S.-China ambassadorial talks, China has repeatedly demanded that the United States withdraw all of its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait and consistently adhered to the principle that Sino-American relations had to be based on the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." Because the United States has not complied, improved relations are out of the question. China is determined to liberate Taiwan.

1857
Kim, Sam Kyu. THE KOREAN QUESTION. Japan quarterly, v. 17, Jan./Mar. 1970: 37-44.
DS801.J274, v. 17

Predicts that Korea may become "the most dangerous area in Asia during the post-Vietnam period" as a result of increasing resentment against the Park regime in South Korea and more aggressive efforts by North Korea, relying on guerrilla warfare, to reunite the country by force. Kim recommends reunification of Korea as a neutral, independent, and democratic state but warns that a prerequisite for this solution is the establishment of a democratic government in South Korea.

1858
Klaiber, Wolfgang. SECURITY PRIORITIES IN EASTERN EUROPE. Problems of communism, v. 19, May/June 1970: 32-44. HX1.P75, v. 19

The differences among the policy lines followed by Rumania, Hungary, Poland, and East Germany in furthering the Warsaw Pact effort to organize an all-European security conference reflect the influence of three varying factors in the common political environment of each: the country's perceived vulnerability to Bonn's territorial claims, the internal strength of the Communist regime, and the degree of dependence on the Soviet Union. Since Rumania is most favorably situated in all three aspects, it has worked vigorously for a

loose European security system that would minimize all outside pressures. Hungary is relatively dependent and unsure of itself, so it has taken fewer positive steps and envisages only some kind of regional cooperation scheme in which the influence of the Soviet Union will gradually diminish. The immediate goals of Poland and East Germany have previously been related to the security objectives of the U.S.S.R. However, the success of present bilateral negotiations between these countries and West Germany may convince the Poles and East Germans that the threat to their security does not come from Bonn. The critical factor for the United States will be the degree to which the credibility of its military guarantee to Western Europe is upheld, and for the Russians, the application of the Brezhnev doctrine. Implicit in the early proposals was the nonparticipation of the United States and Western acceptance of a security environment molded by the "dominant 'European power,'" the Soviet Union. The more realistic Prague declaration of October 1969 conveyed the Warsaw Pact members' recognition that the solution of security problems requires a protracted process of negotiation.

1859
Laqueur, Walter Z. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST: THE SOVIET UNION AND THE MIDDLE EAST, 1958-68. London, Routledge & K. Paul, 1969. 360 p. index. DS63.2.R9L32 1969b
Bibliography: p. 209-212.

Contents.--Introduction.--Prelude: 1945-58.--The neutralization of the northern tier.--Russia, Zionism, Israel.--The Soviet Union and the Arab world.--Oil for the lamps of Eastern Europe?--Trade and aid.--The Soviet military presence.--Communism, Maoism, Arab socialism.--Conclusion.--Notes.--Documents.

"A review of Soviet policy in the Middle East during the last decade and . . . an analysis of its future prospects." Developments within the various Middle East countries are touched upon insofar as they significantly influence the course of events. Laqueur finds that the growth of Soviet influence in this area has not been accompanied or preceded by the spread of Communist ideology and that Soviet successes in the final analysis are attributable to a series of happy coincidences. He argues that the Middle East has a high place among Soviet foreign policy priorities "not because it is intrinsically important, but because it is so weak" and is the most convenient arena for the exercise of Soviet expansionism. However, in view of the delicate global balance of power, the Soviet presence in the Middle East may have far-reaching effects. The future of the Middle East will depend primarily on internal developments within the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent, within the United States. As the Soviets seek strategic parity and the Americans turn to neo-isolationism, Moscow may be ready to follow a high risk policy in areas thought nonvital to America.

1860
Mahncke, Dieter. IN SEARCH OF A MODUS VIVENDI FOR BERLIN: PROSPECTS FOR FOUR-POWER TALKS. World today, v. 26, Apr. 1970: 137-146.
D410.W63, v. 26

Concludes from an examination of Eastern and Western perspectives on the Berlin problem that "so long as the West is not willing to give up the freedom and security of West Belin, while on the other hand the East regards the situation objectively or subjectively as a threat to itself, there remains little scope for negotiation over Berlin." Progress toward a settlement of this issue "depends entirely on the East being prepared to accept the status quo and thus promote real détente."

1861
Mayer, Peter. WHY THE USSURI? In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, June 1970: 22-32. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 50
Condensed from "Why the Ussuri?: Reflections on the Latest Sino-Soviet Fracas," published in the Westinghouse Advanced Studies Group Monograph Series, Waltham, Mass., Dec. 1969.

Analyzes the motivations and the political and military aspects of the recent Sino-Soviet confrontation. Chinese troops attacked the Soviet Union's Damansky Island to maximize internal cohesion during the Ninth Party Congress and undermine Soviet hegemony within the international Communist movement. In view of the attack's timing and location, and in the absence of major territorial claims, it is also plausible that the Chinese military pressure was related to the Soviet Union's proclaimed ambitions over West Berlin. On March 2, 1969, Soviet preparations to prevent the "illegal" West German election were suddenly and unexpectedly discontinued, and the Soviet military presence on the Chinese border was rapidly expanded. The Soviet Union and China "backed off from the brink of possible war when they agreed . . . to initiate general negotiations on their boundary disputes. There appears to be concern by both Soviet and Chinese leaders to reach an agreement on border questions."

1862
Mecklin, John M. "FIRE AND STEEL FOR PALESTINE." Fortune, v. 82, July 1970: 84-89, 135-136. illus.
HF5001.F7, v. 82

The fedayeen (men of sacrifice) movement may do more than the Russian presence in Egypt to shape the future of the Middle East. Palestinian Arab nationalists, the fedayeen have no single leader or set of beliefs. They are united only in hatred for Israel, a taste for terrorist tactics, and a willingness to die to reclaim their homeland. They keep the Arab nations in turmoil, and pose a threat to the $2-billion U.S. investment in the region's oil. No one fears the fedayeen more than established Arab governments--particularly the shaky regimes in Jordan and Lebanon, where the

Palestinians have gained wide popular support. Arab youths have proved eager to join up for tough Mau Mau-like military training; one unit, the Lion Cubs, for boys ten to fourteen, instills a blood lust by making recruits tear live chickens apart. Some optimists see a faint hope that the Palestinians may ultimately contribute to a settlement of the intractable Arab-Israeli conflict; their proposal for a "pluralistic" Palestine could conceivably form the basis for fruitful negotiations. But negotiation and peace are still a long way off. (Abstract supplied)

1863
Morgan, Gerald. THE SINO-RUSSIAN BORDER DISPUTE. Contemporary review, v. 216, May 1970: 231-235, 245. AP4.C7, v. 216

Background to the Sino-Soviet border dispute. Morgan interprets the growing intensity of Chinese demands for an abrogation of its border treaties with the Soviet Union as a sign that the Chinese leadership is becoming ever more confident of the strength it commands in world affairs. As to China's long-range plans, "it is a fact that China has never been expansionist, and has never fought a war except to recover lost territory or in self-defense."

1864
Mustafa, Zubeida. THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER PROBLEM. Pakistan horizon, v. 22, no. 4, 1969: 321-331. DS376.P32, v. 22
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

Concludes that the main problems of the Sino-Soviet border dispute antedate communism. While most governments have adopted neutral policies vis-a-vis the dispute, the fact that the Western Powers will inevitably exploit any major conflict between Russia and China might restrain both parties. Since a nuclear war is possible, a peaceful settlement is essential, and Pakistan is in an excellent position to mediate.

1865
Omori, Shigeo. JAPAN'S NORTHERN TERRITORIES. Japan quarterly, v. 17, Jan./Mar. 1970: 18-26. map. DS801.J274, v. 17

Reviews the territorial dispute between the Soviet Union and Japan over the southern Kurile Islands. Omori foresees increasingly insistent demands by the Japanese people and Government for restoration of Japanese sovereignty over these islands now that the problem of Okinawa has been resolved.

1866
Pace, Eric. THE VIOLENT MEN OF AMMAN. New York times magazine, July 19, 1970: 8-9, 35, 41-42. AP2.N6575, 1970

The political and military situation, plans, and prospects of the Palestinian "fedayeen," or commando, organizations operating out of Amman, Jordan. Compared with 1967, the mood of these organizations is fiercer and more confident. New "progressive," or leftist, organizations have emerged to fragment the movement and mix ideological aims with the older, less complicated goal of destroying Israel. Whatever else they achieve, the commandos have apparently already succeeded in rendering a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute impossible. "The prospects are for more violence. More hatred. More inflammatory words."

1867
Pfaff, Richard H. JERUSALEM; KEYSTONE OF AN ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1969. 56 p. maps. (Legislative and special analyses, 91st Congress, 1st session, no. 13) DS109.93.P44
"Presented . . . within the framework of the Middle East Research Project."
Bibliographical footnotes.

Contents.--The city of peace.--Jerusalem under the mandate.--Search for an international formula. --The continuing crisis.

While the resolution of the East Jerusalem problem may be crucial to any long-term settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute, it is probably the most difficult of the outstanding issues to solve. In spite of several U.N. General Assembly resolutions calling on Israel "to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem" and a widely supported Security Council resolution calling for the "withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict," Israel continued to consolidate its position in East Jerusalem. Some critics attribute the U.N. inability to prevent the annexation of East Jerusalem to a lack of wholehearted American support and charge that U.S. policies on this issue have been inconsistent with U.S. support for the principle of military withdrawal embodied in the U.N. resolution. Although both the Arab States and Israel agree that the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, could form the basis for a peace treaty, the Israelis insist that its implementation must be the product of bilateral negotiations, refuse to withdraw from occupied territories prior to a peace settlement, and view Jerusalem as a nonnegotiable issue, whereas the Arabs maintain that Israel must first withdraw before negotiations can take place. "The challenge for the United States is to adopt a policy on Jerusalem that would be compatible with the preservation of American interests in the Middle East within the larger context of Afro-Asia and that would prevent the City of Peace from becoming a source of a future war."

1868
Richardson, J. L. WEST GERMANY SINCE ADENAUER: STRESSES AND STRAINS OF THE LATE 1960'S. Australian outlook, v. 24, Apr. 1970: 51-60. DU80.A947, v. 24

Assesses the strength of West German democracy. Social and economic change is reducing the

strength of those social elements that are most susceptible to the appeals of a party like the National Democratic Party (NDP). Germany is also blessed in having much less severe domestic problems than the United States. On the other hand, a very small vote shift in the last election could have put the NDP in parliament, which, besides preventing formation of the present coalition and thus condemning the country to further frustrations under the Grand Coalition, might have provoked a serious crisis with the Soviet Union.

1869
Sinha, Krishna K., comp. PROBLEMS OF DEFENCE OF SOUTH AND EAST ASIA. Bombay, Manaktalas [1969] xx, 479 p. UA830.S5
At head of title: Institute of Political and Social Studies.

Partial contents.--Introduction.--List of contributors.--Communist China's capacity to make war, by Samuel B. Griffiths II.--American globalism, by Zbigniew Brzezinski.--The defense of South Asia, by Norman D. Palmer.--The scope for collective security in southern Asia, by D. E. Kennedy. --Various questions concerning Japan's defense, by Hideo Sekino.--Korea's defence problem and the security of South-East Asia, by Kihm Hong-Chul.--The security of South-East Asia: a British assessment, by R. F. K. Goldsmith.--Basis for a collective security organization in South and Southeast Asia, by L. R. Wright.--An Asian balance of power? by Alastair Buchan.--Index.

Essays dating from 1965 that examine Asian security problems. The articles focus on China's growing nuclear capability and its potential threat to other Asian nations, particularly India. The possibilities of a general framework of cooperation are also analyzed.

1870
Stone, Jeremy J. THE FIRST NUCLEAR WAR? War/peace report, v. 9, Nov. 1969: 9-11.
JX1901.W38, v. 9

Signals from various sources indicate that the Soviet Union may be considering a preemptive attack against China's nuclear facilities. Russian strategists may believe that a successful attack will have to be launched before the Chinese deploy operational nuclear weapons. An attack now would embitter Sino-Soviet relations for the foreseeable future, but after the death of Mao Tse-tung relatively friendly relations might prevail, rendering such attacks unnecessary. A preemptive strike against China would force West Germany to shun the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, cause other nations to acquire nuclear weapons, accelerate the Soviet-U.S. arms race, and make preemptive strikes "thinkable." It would open the Pandora's box of retaliation consequences, and the cold war demonstration that nuclear buildups do not necessarily lead to war undermines moral and strategic justifications for preemptive attacks. Such an attack would complicate Soviet-U.S. relations for many years and greatly hinder arms negotiations. Since Sino-U.S. relations may improve more rapidly than Soviet-U.S. relations over the long run, it would not be in the interest of the Soviet Union to execute policies that would ease existing Sino-U.S. tension or generate worldwide support and sympathy for the Chinese. The anti-Chinese implications of the American ABM system may have convinced the Russians and Chinese that the United States would condone a preemptive attack against strategic Chinese targets. Although U.S. impartiality in the Sino-Soviet border dispute is legitimate, its silence on the possibility of a Soviet attack on China is dangerous. The United States must implement a more positive policy on this issue.

1871
Toye, Hugh. LAOS: BUFFER STATE OR BATTLEGROUND. London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1968. xvii, 245 p. illus., maps, ports.
DS557.L25T6 1968
Bibliography: p. [219]-230.

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction.--pt. 1. The historical antecedents: Vietnam and the Indian-influenced states of Indo-China. The consequences of French rule.--pt. 2. The development of the problem, 1940-1964: Introduction. Laos in the Second World War. Laos and the Indo-China war. The problem of neutrality. The Laotian civil war. The Geneva Conference 1961-2 and the renewal of conflict.--Conclusion.--Appendices.--Index.

Shows how the contemporary confrontation in the neutral buffer zones of Laos and Cambodia represents a resumption of the traditional conflict between Siam and Vietnam and how the geographical and ethnic anomalies of Laos, together with the historical fears and territorial ambitions of its neighbors, have prevented its establishment as a viable buffer state; deals with the evolution of the Laotian crisis from 1940 to 1964; and considers conflicting interests and pressures that must be reconciled in any future Laotian settlement.

1872
Virpsha, Eugene S. SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN: A STUDY IN POWER STRATEGY. Brighton [Eng.] Markham House Press, 1969. 20 p. (East and West series) DS335.V5
Bibliography: p. 18.

Contents.--The global outlook.--The pattern of Russian expansion.--The status quo in Europe.--The situation in the Indian Ocean.--The power vacuum in central Africa.--Race relations.--The strategic significance of southern Africa.--Conclusions.-- Postscript.--Table and map showing population and power expansion in the Old World.

Soviet politicomilitary efforts to fill the power vacuums in the Indian Ocean and central Africa, coupled with increased Asian immigration into Africa, are affecting the capabilities of southern African countries to defend themselves and the rest of Africa from a Communist invasion. Failure to protect Africa "would spell the encirclement of Europe and the eventual occupation of all European

states by the Communists." Unfortunately, because of Great Britain's withdrawal East of Suez, America's involvement in Vietnam, and France's preoccupation with its defenses, only West Germany is in a position to render substantial aid to southern Africa.

1873
Wettig, Gerhard. [THE BERLIN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC] Die Berlin-Politik der UdSSR und der DDR. Aussenpolitik, v. 21, May 1970: 284-296.
D839.A885, v. 21

The Soviet Union and East Germany publicly agree in demanding that the status of West Berlin be so normalized that East Germany need no longer feel compelled to protest abuse of the access routes. East German claims of sole authority over the routes to West Berlin potentially conflict with the Soviet position as one of the occupying powers. Although East Germany continues to refuse to consider West Berlin an appropriate problem for negotiation with Bonn, the Soviets would like to keep the topic alive. The reasons for the change in the Soviet Berlin strategy are to be found in the overall political situation. The Soviet plan originally was to shake the Federal Republic's confidence in its military and political alliances. The East German threats about the access routes to Berlin were intended to convince Bonn of American and general Western European lack of commitment. In early 1969 this maneuver was abandoned; the Czech intervention and the February incidents had provoked strong Western reactions. The new Soviet policy uses negotiation instead of confrontation, but the goal remains the same. Now the West Germans are being told that in their own best interests and in the interests of general détente they should accommodate themselves to the Soviets on the basis of the status quo--as the Soviets define it.

1874
Wilson, Evan M. JERUSALEM, KEY TO PEACE. Washington, Middle East Institute, 1970. 176 p. illus. (The James Terry Duce Memorial series, v. 2)
DS119.7.W5

Contents.--Foreword.--Introduction: life in divided Jerusalem.--The setting.--The people.--The background.--The role of the United Nations.--Conflict, June 1967: origins and consequences.--The problem of the Holy Places.--The future.--Appendices.--Bibliography.--Index.

No perceptible progress has been made toward a settlement of outstanding issues between Israel and the Arab States, and the outlook is most unfavorable. However, "settlement of the Jerusalem question could prove to be the key that would open the way to a settlement of the broader issues." To resolve the question of Jerusalem, all or most of the West Bank would have to be returned to Jordanian or Arab control, Arab and Israeli interests protected, free access guaranteed, and the principle of internationalization recognized. Jerusalem transcends local issues; consequently, continued Israeli control, a return of the Old City to Jordan, or the formation of a condominium are unacceptably local solutions. An international solution would entail full or partial territorial internationalization. The United Nations would be the supreme authority within the international zone and would appoint a U.N. Administrator, who eventually would relinquish his powers to a city council elected by the residents of the zone. Israel might accept this type of solution if it could secure a permanent peace settlement. External intervention and even strong pressures will probably be necessary to produce an accommodation over Jerusalem.

1875
Zador, Heinrich. [HUSSEIN OF JORDAN: "MY WAR WITH ISRAEL"] Hussein von Jordanien: "Mein Krieg mit Israel." Wehrkunde, v. 19, Feb. 1970: 94-98.
U3.W396, v. 19

Reviews Hussein of Jordan: My War With Israel. Zador considers the "author" to be an inept political and military leader and the book full of contradictions, inaccuracies, and unanswered questions. He nevertheless considers the book instructive from the military, political, and psychological standpoints. Whether the book really reflects the King's views is questionable since it was not written by him personally. His contention that Jordan was contractually obligated to participate in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War is untenable. Jordan could have accepted the Israeli assurance of immunity from attack if it stayed neutral. The book condemns Syria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia for their failure to contribute more substantially to the war effort. It depicts Arab aggression as self-defense and Israeli defense as aggression, on the basis that the very establishment of Israel represented aggression.

Disengagement, neutralization, etc.

1876
Birecki, Henrick. [THE MECHANISM OF FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION IN PEOPLES' DEMOCRACIES: THE CASE OF THE POLISH PLAN TO CREATE A DENUCLEARIZED ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE] Le mecanisme de formation de la politique étrangère dans les pays de démocratie populaire. La cas de la proposition polonaise de création d'une zone dénuclearisée en Europe centrale. Politique étrangère, v. 35, no. 2, 1970: 197-209.
JX3.P6, v. 35

Certain East European leaders, while recognizing their ideological debt vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, have undertaken on several occasions to increase their room for maneuver. But the West has ignored most of their proposals, the most famous being the 1958 Polish proposition to set up a denuclearized zone in central Europe. The author analyses the various phases of the Polish plan from February 1958 to February 1964. He is led inevitably to a study of relations between West Germany and Poland, the German question being the heart of the problem. Since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia the room for maneuver seems to

have been narrowed. However, it is not possible to go back, and the national interests of the peoples' democracies will continue to influence their foreign policies. (Translation of supplied abstract, modified)

1877
Czaja, Herbert. EUROPEAN ETHNIC GROUP LAW. Central Europe journal, v. 18, May 1970: 168-171.
DB200.7.S74, v. 18

Propounds international Europeanized status for areas of disputed nationality, such as the Polish-German border, and for ethnic areas "on the fringe of national core regions." Czaja proposes limited sovereignty and certain rights to ensure effective cultural and economic self-administration for the various ethnic groups. "Tasks involving the entire territory would have to be handled by an allied system operated by all ethnic groups concerned." This way the legal right to a homeland may be implemented, and the territorial disputes between Germany and its neighbors may be solved. Such European ethnic-group law would not contravene integration of Europe.

1878
Das, Parimal K. THE INDO-CHINESE CRISIS AND INDIA'S EFFORTS TOWARDS PEACE-MAKING, 1959-1966. International studies, v. 10, Jan. 1969: 303-320.
JX18.I55, v. 10

Deals with Chinese strategy in Southeast Asia and the foreign relations of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam in terms of Indian peace initiatives in Indochina. Das concludes that despite its desire for peace in Indochina, "India cannot effectively intervene in the dispute unless and until war ceases in the area."

1879
Gallé, Werner R. [LAOS BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS] Laos zwischen den Grossmächen. Aussenpolitik, v. 21, Feb. 1970: 110-116.
D839.A885, v. 21

While in South Vietnam talk is of Vietnamization of war, in neighboring Laos the antithesis of Laotization is taking place, and there is controversy between the Government and the Pathet Lao. The Communists continue to depend on Hanoi and on China, which has built important roads in the northern part of the country. The positive change in military operations last summer for the Government in Vientiane could not have been achieved without American help. The situation in this divided country sharply contrasts with the neutrality that was laid down for Laos in 1962. After Vietnam draws less attention and forces, Laos may become a carrier of future developments in Southeast Asia. (Translation of supplied abstract, modified)

1880
Griffith, William E. WHY AMERICAN TROOPS SHOULD REMAIN IN EUROPE. Reader's digest, v. 96, May 1970: 121-125. AP2.R255, v. 96

Discusses the political and military implications of possible U.S. troop withdrawals from Europe against a background of increasing senatorial pressure for substantial troop reductions in Europe and the mounting Soviet threat to Western Europe, critically analyzes the rationale behind the proposed Mansfield resolution, and concludes that a unilateral American pullout would seriously jeopardize U.S.-Soviet negotiations in the 1970's. While President Nixon has resisted demands for disengagement, he expects the Allies eventually to play a greater role in the defense of Europe.

1881
Johnson, Robert H. VIETNAMIZATION: CAN IT WORK? Foreign affairs, v. 48, July 1970: 629-647.
D410.F6, v. 48

Assesses the prospects for Vietnamization in the face of U.S. troop withdrawals and the absence of serious negotiations. Johnson examines the strengths and weaknesses of probable Communist and Saigon strategies and considers three stages of progressive U.S. force withdrawals: withdrawal of most ground combat forces, withdrawal of logistic and support forces, and withdrawal of all advisory elements and combat forces. He finds four major defects in a policy based wholly upon Vietnamization: It fails to provide for a political accommodation between Communists and non-Communists; it does not assure withdrawal of all U.S. military personnel within a reasonable time; it provides no international machinery to assume the burden of responsibility for Vietnam; and it fails to deal with Laos and Cambodia. These findings indicate that Vietnamization will succeed only if it is linked to serious negotiations.

1882
Mirković, Bora. AUTHENTIC VIETNAMIZATION: SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE NON-ALIGNED WORLD. Review of international affairs, v. 21, May 5, 1970: 25-26.
D839.R4, v. 21

By applying for participation in the Third Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Nonalined Countries, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam has attained the widest possible international support. The nonalined countries know from their own histories the problems of fighting for independence, and their international position makes them good partners of the national liberation movement. Any political solution in Southeast Asia must be sought in the disengagement of the foreign powers and in some form of neutrality for the countries directly threatened. In formally joining the nonalined countries, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam has truly "Vietnamized" its foreign policy.

1883
Petković, Ranko. FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN THE FORMER INDO-CHINESE AREA. Review of international affairs, v. 21, Apr. 5, 1970: 25-26.
D839.R4, v. 21

Despite differences in their sociopolitical structures and modes of conducting war, the perpetrators of aggression in Indochina historically have met the same defeat. The aggression by Japan, an Asian imperialist state, was a typical imperialist act; that by France, a European colonial power, was the last, convulsive effort of a dying colonialism. The U.S. superpower wishes to preserve imperialism by propping up neocolonialism and the bloc structure. Other generalizations can be made. The rightwing governments in Indochina have always sought allies among foreign powers because they are totally without popular support. The nucleus of the liberation movement against Japanese, French, and Americans has consisted of leftwing forces everywhere except in Prince Sihanouk's neutralist Cambodia. In Laos, the neutralists wavered between right and left and thus exacerbated the conflict. The significance of Sihanouk's policies will be appreciated now that the right wing in Cambodia has begun on the path that will make Cambodia a duplicate of Laos, if not of Vietnam. The only political solution for the Vietnam problem now is the establishment of some kind of neutrality or nonalinement like that of Laos.

1884
Rahman, Mohammed M. THE POLITICS OF NON-ALIGNMENT. New Delhi, Associated Pub. House [1969] 267 p.
DS448.R23 1969

"Revised version of . . . thesis . . . presented to Aligarh Muslim University in 1968 for the award of the degree of doctor of philosophy."
Bibliography: p. 247-255.

Contents.--Preface.--Cobwebs and illusions.--The goals of non-alignment.--The meaning of non-alignment.--Non-alignment in India.--The Suez crisis.--Hungarian revolution.--The Congo crisis.--The role of United Arab Republic.--Conclusion.--Index.

Examines misconceptions concerning nonalinement, asserting that it is neither pacifistic nor nonviolent, has no commitments to the peaceful settlement of disputes, is not based on religion, and connotes neither neutrality nor noninterference. Rahman studies the nonalinement policies of India and the United Arab Republic, emphasizing their differences and similarities, and concludes that despite differences, the nonalined nations must close ranks.

OUTER SPACE

VIOLATION OF AGREEMENTS AND RESPONSES

Violation, inspection,verification

Enforcement

1885
Hosmer, Craig. SOME PLAIN TALK ON SAFEGUARDS. Nuclear news, v. 13, July 1970: 35-37.
QC770.N75, v. 13

Excerpts from an address to the 11th annual meeting of the Institute of Nuclear Materials Management, Gatlinburg, Tenn., May 25, 1970.

The release of special nuclear materials to private industry in 1954, passage of the atoms for peace program in 1956, and the Atomic Energy Commission's creation of a Division of Nuclear Materials Management in 1967 mark important stages in the evolution of U.S. concern with the problem of controlling special nuclear materials. Failure to implement the Lumb Panel's 1967 recommendation that standards be established to measure normal loss at various points in the nuclear process was an important stage, too, but a less welcome one; for without such standards, an adequate accounting system is impossible. The dangers of diversion are quite real, of course, and it is here that the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) comes into the picture. To show its confidence in that agency and in the nonproliferation treaty, the United States has opened up several of its nuclear facilities to agency inspection; in the interest of the treaty, the Soviet Union should do the same. Both superpowers should also be concerned to make something significant out of their commitment to provide signers of the treaty with nuclear explosives services for peaceful purposes; an International Plowshare Trading Mart is not too much to ask for, though it would require the most stringent safeguards. Actually, the gravest danger lies with nonnational diversions of nuclear material; growth of a black market in these compounds is easily conceivable. To deal with this possibility, as well as with the danger of national diversions, safeguards organizations should establish closer relations with other law enforcement agencies. In addition, IAEA, or member countries individually, might offer substantial rewards for information concerning illegal possession or use of special nuclear materials.

CONSEQUENCES OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT MEASURES

1886
Menos, Dennis. BEYOND SALT. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 50, June 1970: 91-97. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 50

Arms control agreements to limit ABM's, suspend testing of multiple independent reentry vehicles, and stabilize offensive strategic systems "would far from solve all the world's nuclear ills." Whereas an agreement to outlaw nuclear war would only increase the danger of nuclear holocaust, an "Urban Treaty" to ban the use of nuclear weapons against cities and remove offensive and defensive missiles and the industrial facilities engaged in their production from within a 50-mile radius of urban areas "appears to hold the best promise for lowering the nuclear tensions of the world." Some critics will label such a treaty unrealistic, but it would eliminate the incentive for a nuclear

power to attack enemy cities. Although adoption of the treaty would not degrade America's defense posture, it would nullify the assured-destruction concept. However, each superpower would retain its capability to inflict severe punishment upon the other without completely destroying it and thus continue to maintain an effective deterrent. A favorable Soviet response should not be ruled out in view of the Soviet Union's new nuclear status vis-a-vis the United States.

1887
Resource Management Corporation. THE DEFENSE DEPENDENCY OF THE METALWORKING MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT INDUSTRY AND DISARMAMENT IMPLICATIONS. Prepared for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Bethesda, Md., 1969. xiv, 182 p. illus. (Its ACDA/E-130) HD9705.U62R43

Contents.--Acknowledgments.--Summary.--The problem, plan, and technical approach of the study.--The metalworking machinery and equipment industry.--Products, producers, and markets.--Defense demand and the defense sector of the economy.--Defense utilization of capital stock.--An estimate of defense dependency of the metalworking machinery and equipment industry.--The economic consequences of disarmament for the metalworking machinery and equipment industry.--Policy perspectives on the defense dependency of the machine tool industry.--Bibliography.--Index.

Identifies and measures the impact of defense spending on the metalworking machinery and equipment industry. The study concludes that employment in the industry depends more on the general state of the economy than on defense spending; that some types of tools, especially those that are numerically controlled, are more defense orientated than others; that the industry is becoming less dependent on defense-related research and development; that most firms are sufficiently diversified to withstand even severe cutbacks in defense contracts; and that there is no regional concentration of industry sales dependent on defense contracts.

OTHER PROBLEMS AND MEASURES

1888
Beaton, Leonard. A BAN ON GERMS. Survival, v. 12, Jan. 1970: 17-18. U162.S9, v. 12
Reprinted from The Times, Dec. 3, 1969.
Ser

Examines the factors behind President Nixon's renunciation of all methods of biological warfare and assesses the chances for agreement on a British-proposed convention that would prohibit biological warfare. A Russian draft convention banning the possession and use of either chemical or biological weapons stands no chance of adoption, because the United States refuses to renounce chemical agents. The British have put forward an imaginative complaints procedure empowering on-site inspection by the U.N. Secretary General to determine whether biological weapons have been used against a complainant. On the other hand, a complaint that a country is producing biological warfare agents would go to the Security Council, "thus giving the Russians the right to veto inspection on their soil or that of their friends."

1889
De Smith, Stanley A. OPTIONS FOR MICRONESIA: A POTENTIAL CRISIS FOR AMERICA'S PACIFIC TRUST TERRITORY. New York, New York University, 1969. 29 p. (New York University. Center for International Studies. Policy papers, v. 3, no. 1)
DU500.D38

Assesses the recommendations of the Micronesian Future Political Status Commission. Although the Commission preferred some form of free association with the United States to outright independence, it was vague on the specific means to achieve this. De Smith contends that Micronesia should be offered independence as an immediate alternative to avoid charges of colonialism and, in the event Micronesia opts for association, should provide for unilateral termination of this arrangement after Micronesia attains associate status.

1890
Gibson, Stephen L., comp. CONTEMPORARY PRACTICE OF THE UNITED STATES RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL LAW. American journal of international law, v. 64, Apr. 1970: 386-411. JX1.A6, v. 64

Includes the November 25, 1969, statement by President Nixon reaffirming the U.S. renunciation of the first use of lethal chemical weapons and extending this renunciation to the first use of incapacitating chemicals; the text of the 1925 Geneva Protocol banning the use of chemical and biological weapons (CBW); the text of the 1969 British draft convention for the prohibition of biological warfare; the December 10, 1969, and October 30, 1969, statements by James F. Leonard, U.S. Representative to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, dealing with a convention banning CBW and with a draft treaty prohibiting weapons of mass destruction on the seabed; the text of the Soviet-American revised draft treaty on the prohibition of weapons on the seabed; U.N. General Assembly draft resolutions on chemical and biological weapons; and a U.N. General Assembly resolution on the reservation of the seabed exclusively for peaceful purposes.

1891
Leonard, James F. U.S. SUPPORTS INCLUSION OF TOXINS IN BIOLOGICAL WARFARE CONVENTION. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 62, June 8, 1970: 731-732.
JX232.A33, v. 62
Statement made before the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva on Apr. 28, 1970.

Responds to questions from the Swedish delegation on the possibility of including toxins in the

United Kingdom draft convention on biological weapons and of using open information and established reporting procedures as means of verifying a chemical-weapons ban. As to the first question, the U.S. position is that "while toxins are chemical substances, their characteristics from the viewpoint of arms control are so closely related to those of biological agents that the treatment of these two categories in the same convention seems not only appropriate but highly desirable." As to the second, the United States believes that "openness and reporting and other measures of self-policing are not sufficient in themselves to form a verification system for a prohibition on production and stockpiling of chemical weapons," though they may serve as useful adjuncts "to on-site technical inspection, some measure of which appears required for effective verification of a CW ban."

1892
Leonard, James F. UNITED STATES AND U.S.S.R. TABLE REVISED DRAFT TREATY BANNING EMPLACEMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THE SEABED. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 62, May 25, 1970: 663-667.
JX232.A33, v. 62

"Statement made before the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva on April 23 . . . together with the text of the revised draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the seabed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof."

Explains provisions of the new draft treaty and recommends its adoption. The treaty draft is imperfect as it stands but "is realistic in light of the present state of technology and verification capabilities," successfully avoids questions "which primarily relate not to arms control but to other issues being dealt with in other contexts," and strikes "a delicate and . . . fair balance among the various interests represented in this Committee and in the international community generally."

1893
Leonard, James F. UNITED STATES EXPLAINS POSITION ON CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 62, Apr. 27, 1970: 552-557.
JX232.A33, v. 62

Statement made before the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, Mar. 17, 1970, together with the text of a U.S. working paper on chemical warfare agents and the commercial chemical industry.

Argues that the effort to prohibit biological warfare should be kept separate from attempts to ban chemical weapons. Because chemicals, in contrast to biologicals, make practical battlefield weapons, nations will be reluctant to agree to their prohibition without firm safeguards. Given the close relationship between chemical weapons and chemicals for peaceful uses, it will be more difficult to achieve a ban on chemical than on biological weapons.

1894
Luard, David Evan, ed. THE INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF FRONTIER DISPUTES. New York, Praeger [1970] 247 p. JX4473.I53 1970
Bibliographical references.

Contents.--Frontier disputes in modern international relations, by Evan Luard.--The league and territorial disputes, by Stan Windass.--The United Nations and frontier disputes, by Alan James.--Regional organizations and frontier disputes, by Peter Lyon.--Mediation, by Naomi Schwiesow.--Arbitration, by Hazel Fox.--Judicial settlement, by Henry Darwin.--Conclusions, by Evan Luard.--Biographical notes.--Index.

Examines various categories of frontier disputes and procedures for pacifying or resolving them. Luard concludes that "the areas that have been the subject of dispute have become smaller and more marginal in importance" and that armed conflict as a result of border disputes has been on a smaller scale, but he cautions that the possibility of a major war arising out of a border dispute cannot be ruled out, especially with regard to China.

1895
McAlister, John T., and Paul Mus. THE VIETNAMESE AND THEIR REVOLUTION. New York, Harper & Row [1970] xiv, 173 p.
DS557.A5M18 1970

"Bibliography: major published works of Paul Mus": p. [167].

Contents.--Foreword.--Prologue: politics and revolution in Viet Nam.--Viet Nam: a nation off balance.--The sources of the Vietnamese political tradition.--The mandate of heaven: politics as seen from the Vietnamese village.--Revolution and the politics of modernization.--The political consequences of Vietnamese concepts of society.--The Vietnamese elite on the eve of revolution.--Marxism and traditionalism in Viet Nam.--The Marxist world view and revolutions in modernizing countries.--The possibilities for modernization in Viet Nam.--Epilogue: the meaning of revolution in Viet Nam.--Bibliography.--Index.

Analysis of the historical, cultural, and social origins and significance of the Vietnamese revolution based on Mus's Viet Nam: sociologie d'une guerre and two articles of the late 1940's and early 1950's, reorganized and rewritten by McAlister. The authors focus on "the underlying attitudes and values of the Vietnamese peasants, why they have been unwilling to accept the legitimacy of pro-French and pro-American urban-based governments, and why they have steadily moved toward the Communist-led revolutionaries in every area of Viet Nam." The persisting traditions of the Vietnamese villagers, who still constitute three-fourths of the population, are examined in

relation to the problems of modernization and the impact of Marxism. The authors conclude that the Communists have been able to mobilize popular support by offering a program and leadership relevant to the needs and values of the Vietnamese villagers while the urban-based governments have been dependent on foreign support to maintain power.

1896
Nixon, Richard M., Pres. U.S. UNITED STATES POLICY FOR THE SEABED. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 62, June 15, 1970: 737-741. JX232.A33, v. 62

Statement by the President on May 23, 1970, together with testimony by Under Secretary of State Elliot L. Richardson before the Special Subcommittee on Outer Continental Shelf of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on May 27, and a letter from Christopher H. Phillips, U.S. Representative on the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, to the Committee Chairman, dated May 25.

Outlines U.S. policy on international control of the seabed and its resources. President Nixon proposes "that all nations adopt as soon as possible a treaty under which they would renounce all national claims over the natural resources of the seabed beyond the point where the high seas reach a depth of 200 meters (218.8 yards) and would agree to regard these resources as the common heritage of mankind," that an international regime be established to administer the treaty, and that, in the interim, "all permits for exploration and exploitation of the seabeds beyond 200 meters be issued subject to the international regime to be agreed upon." The major aims of the treaty would be to prevent international rivalries on the seabed and to ensure that a substantial proportion of seabed resources are reserved to the international community.

1897
Rosebury, Theodor. PRESIDENT NIXON'S STATEMENT ON CBW. Scientific world, v. 14, no. 3, 1970: 9-10. Q1.S8415, v. 14

Questions the long-term significance of President Nixon's November 1969 statement on chemical and biological weapons (CBW), concentrating on policy "loopholes" generally, the Geneva Protocol and U.S. CBW policy in Vietnam, and the provision for continuing defensive work on biological weapons, and suggests that a more "mature appraisal" of Nixon's statement is needed. "There is a warranted suspicion that Mr. Nixon is in fact giving up nothing, and merely playing a counter in the game of disarmament, which in its modern form has been in play, with time out for World War II, since disarmament talks began in the League of Nations in the early 1920s, with no effect whatever on the actual armament status of the world."

1898
Weiss, Claus. [DEPARTURE FROM ILLUSIONS? QUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN AND GERMAN POLICIES] Abschied von Illusionen? Fragen zur Ost- und Deutschlandpolitik. Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte, v. 21, Jan. 1970: 17-23. HD4809.G38, v. 21

Criticizes the legal and political foundations of the German Federal Republic's territorial claims toward Poland and points out that neutrality of the two German states would be the best formula for German reunification. Weiss considers the status of Berlin and the German Federal Republic's relations with the Soviet Union, East Germany, and Poland.

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